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UNION AGAINST AL-QADHDHAFI--King Khalid of Saudi Arabia and Crown Prince Fahd have sent personal letters to King Husayn of Jordan, the Emirs of Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain and the president of the Yemen Arab Republic, asking them to follow Saudi Arabia's example and sever diplomatic relations with Libya. [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 24 Nov 80 p 57]

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CLOSING GAP BETWEEN HOPES, POSSIBILITIES ADVOCATED

Kuwait AL-'ARABI in Arabic Nov 80 pp 11-15

[Article by Dr 'Abd al-'Aziz Kamil: "Islamic Action: Between Hopes and Possibilities"]

[Text] I visited the late Mr 'Abd al-Rahman 'Azzam the first secretary general of the Arab League in 1974.

We met in his home in Hulwan, south of Cairo. We talked about Arab and Islamic action and the need to proceed in such action gradually within an integrated, flexible framework. I remember him saying, "When work began in the Arab League, projects were limited in scope. I was very careful not to overburden the league so that it would succeed in the efforts it undertook and have a taste of success that would encourage it to take more steps and expand the circle of action and cooperation."

Mr 'Abd al-Rahman 'Azzam went on to say, "There is a big difference between what we hope for and what is possible. We place great hopes on Arab action, but our efforts are limited and our steps short. We must work together and cooperate with each other."

This conversation was a prelude to the dialogue on Islamic action that took place after the Islamic Conference Organization was formed and the decision to establish it was made at the first Islamic Conference that was held in Rabat in December 1969 after the fire in al-Aqsa Mosque.

The hopes that were placed on the organization increased because it was the first practical manifestation of the Islamic nations' will after the fall of the caliphate in 1924. One of the hopes that the late 'Azzam had was to see the organization proceed slowly and not take on more than it could handle so it can savor the taste of success and continue on its course.

Between Hopes and Possibilities

Hopes multiply in our minds as we hail the arrival of the 15th century of the Hegira calendar. Hopes have wings with which they hover in the horizons of the future, but actions that are possible tie us down. Steps can be taken on the firm ground of the present to realize possible actions and to proceed therefrom towards the future. There is a big difference between the flutter of wings and the step of a

foot. We have to confront this gap in Islamic action between what we hope for and what is possible, and we must bridge that gap so that we can turn our hopes into possibilities from which we can move forward to new hopes.

Let us first understand that there is no contradiction between hopes and possibilities. Possibilities pave the way to hopes, and the present is the gateway to the future.

The road to Islamic action is impeded most significantly by the fact that we turn away from our agreements, that we violate them, that we refrain from shouldering the responsibilities of those agreements or that we become preoccupied with marginal or local objectives. Genuine leadership action requires the application of what God Almighty said in the Koran: "And when they grew steadfast and firmly believed in Our revelations, We appointed leaders from among them who gave guidance at our bidding" [The Adoration]. Leadership is achieved with patience, with certitude, with clear intellectual vision, with heartfelt faith and with steadiness on the course.

In order for us to see the scope of action clearly, we have to tour its principal positions, and we have to acquaint ourselves with its features. A general overview here is more important than a painstaking view of details which would be required for executive action.

Once again let me say what I said about the relationship between possibilities and hopes: there is no contradiction between a partial view and a general view. The whole is a sum of the parts, and a general view helps us place the parts in their proper places. The two views complement and affect each other. This comprehensiveness has its historical depth, its range in space and its objective implications.

Historical Depth

We do not want to go back beyond the early 14th century Hegira; 100 years suffice. The Islamic world was divided among the major countries of the world at the time, or it was on its way to being divided and subjected to the control of colonialism. The scientific and technological gap between the advanced world and the traditional world was vast. The Industrial Revolution pervaded Europe and the United States. The wealth of the world was transported by ships across the oceans to the capitals of colonialism. Even people were carried by ships across the Atlantic Ocean to fuel the agricultural and the industrial effort in the New World, which was swept by a white human tempest that destroyed the Red Indian and his home and wrecked his civilization. Nothing was left of his glory and his history but human ruins and petrified relics [which may now be found] in the museum of modern American civilization: mere examples of something that was.

Some civilizations in the Far East were able to put up a greater resistance, and despite bloody wars, destruction and the drain of resources, Islam was able to survive.

The Koran continued to be the lodestone in Islamic life and the center around which that life turned. It was the religion, the language and the bond between all Moslems. Prayer continued to be a daily encounter uniting the bodies and the

spirits of Moslems. Alms-giving continued to be an economic and a social bond among Moslems. Fasting continued to be a seasonal rite of worship, remembrance and affection. Pilgrimage continued to be a convocation of all Moslems even though some countries prevented Moslems from going on the pilgrimage.

Sometimes the harassment of Islam and Moslems reached the point of full extermination or extreme oppression. Moslems were sometimes tempted by the glitter of the West where good is mixed with evil, scientific progress with waves of corruption, and technology with a detachment from one's roots.

Moslems were divided among civilizations and cultures; they spoke in numerous languages and dialects; and sectarian local interests and prejudices emerged. Some voices continued to proclaim the truth. They wrote; they spoke; and they advocated setting a good example in the spoken and the written word.

Regarding Population and Objectivity

With regard to the population, waves of external or hidden colonialism swept most of the Islamic world [like a flood], leaving no more than a few limited parts immune from the waves of water. These became islands of freedom in the cradle of Islam [the Arabian Peninsula] and in Afghanistan. The colors of the colonialist countries spread over the map of the Islamic world with Britain, France and the Netherlands having the largest share.

In this regard, colonialism tried to obliterate the Islamic identity. The most violent battles were directed against the Holy Koran, the Arabic language and the Arabic letter. The battle of the Arabic letter itself had to be studied, observed and met with a counter plan. The removal or insertion of a letter was either a cultural rupture or bond, and it was an intellectual orientation.

Weakening the relationship between the Koran, the Arabic language and Islamic civilization will in turn lead to cultural decline. The emergence of narrow tendencies is just like the emergence of water: if it flows in abundance, it covers up small holes and crannies, and the surface of the water appears level.

If the flow of water diminishes, a flowing river turns into a brackish swamp, and the running water turns into scattered small pockets and puddles that stay as they are until a flood occurs, connects them together and generates fertility and growth on the banks.

Predestination and Human Effort

The decades of the 14th century Hegira went by, and the Islamic world underwent great changes. I am saying changes and not development.

The Islamic world occupies a bloc in the middle between the continents of the old world. Let us say it is a central continent whose outermost parts stretch between the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific Ocean. Its front line ports are in the heart of Africa, in Southeast Asia and now they are in Europe. New ports emerged in the New World with the advent of the age of aviation and the ease of transportation. The Islamic world used to be a continuous body, but it now has a satellite system:

satellites and stars rotating around the sun. The light of God is radiating from the cradle of Islam: the stars are the capitals of the Islamic world, and the satellites are new Islamic delegations in Europe, in the New World and in Australia.

Oil gushed out from the land of Islam. It is new wealth coming from the bowels of the earth; it is a new test for humanity.

Moslems, you have a centrally located position. Here is the energy. Here is the wealth. In your countries there is land which is suitable for agriculture; there is land for pasture; and there is land covered with forests. You have a variety of minerals; you have fertilizers; you have manpower. You have to forge all this into a new life.

Your political independence lies in your hands. Your economic destinies lie in your hands, but you must "know" that the journey to knowledge [requires] effort. With money one can buy whatever one wants except intelligence and a creative intellect. This is the region of creativity. Before that it was the region of creation. Between being the region of creation and becoming that of creativity it is now the region of cultural challenge.

I am almost saying that in the post-prophecy age God has not gathered for Moslems more causes of material power than those He has gathered together for them now.

The dawn of this 15th century of the Hegira calendar is the date of the great challenge to the Islamic will. All Moslems are preparing for it.

This [notion of] having "oil for the time being," of plentiful production with a short life for the oil is unlike agriculture where production is limited but long-lived. The fate of oil in the ground is known; but the rainfall is pre-ordained by God, and it is one of God's cosmic ways, [inevitable] like the night and the day.

The permanent forces of being in the Islamic world are coming face to face with energy and money at this historical stage. The permanent will come face to face with the ephemeral. The challenge lies in the area of planning and knowledge at a historical turning point where the Islamic forces converge and the strength to survive [meets] a peak in concentration.

But who will do this?

The young people. Let us look into some of their affairs.

Those Young People

The last third of the 14th century Hegira saw many of the movements of Islamic youth. The problem of young people in Islam is almost confined to deviation from Islam, distorting Islam or being strongly driven towards it.

Without going into the details of young people's activities, which occasionally ended in what we can call "periodic collective suicide," I will state that we need a new formula or new formulas for the activities of young Moslems.

In general, the Middle East area is characterized by its violent struggles, compared to some of the countries of Southeast Asia which has the largest Islamic bloc.

I was visiting these countries recently in September 1980, and I saw in them examples of Islamic action whose experiences we need to share. In their temperament some of these countries reminded me of the gentleness of the people of al-Madinah al-Munawwarah. There, religion is morals, dealings, a social structure, cooperation with the ruler in doing good, the dissemination of Islam by good example, the improvement of the scientific and technological standard of Moslems and the affectionate coexistence of religions.

It is human nature that there be some struggles, but the dominant characteristic is constructive action and participation in constructive activities.

Let us look into the movements of young people. Let us examine how they appeared and how there was mutual caution and hostility followed by conflict between them and the agencies of government. Let us then examine how most—if not all of them—ended up [broken] as sharp pieces and fragments that soon regrouped and started all over again to encounter the same destiny.

We do actually need new formulas [for action]. These will come about as a result of studying previous formulas and [initiating] an open dialogue between the ruling agencies and young people. Religious and cultural organizations would participate in this dialogue, and the energies of young people would be turned towards positive constructive efforts on good courses with which they would be pleased. They would sense the results of their actions; they would achieve self-actualization; and they would stay away from the tension and the rejection which advocates hostility and conflict at a distance.

There is no doubt that reviewing the educational formation in the schools, colleges and universities and coordinating the relationship between the home, the school, the mosque and the media will help direct [effort] towards constructive action, a positive attitude and an ability to stay in step with the progress of life.

Islamic Immunity

Let me go back to the comprehensive development plan in the Islamic world.

Let me begin in a humble fashion.

Let us first agree to keep these projects away from disputes and political struggles when we make them.

Let us say that the questions of preparing young people for the future and for questions of development have an "Islamic immunity" that is unhampered by political struggle. It is sufficient at first to prepare young people and development projects as fortified areas whose sphere we would try to expand later.

This development is to turn Moslem funds towards the land of Islam. It would be strange to find foreign investments in the land of Islam and Islamic investments in foreign capitals. It would be strange to find that Islamic investments in foreign capitals exceed Islamic investments in the land of Islam.

I do not want to blame colonialism or the dearth of trust that exists between Moslems; nor do I want to blame the fact that projects have been subject to political movements. With a new beginning, there must be a new [way of] thinking. I believe that the notion of Islamic immunity for projects that are agreed to on a bilateral, regional or general Islamic level may solve many problems for us. It may help us achieve more progress to move on to further projects.

Efforts are being made now to join the advanced Islamic centers in the western world with the body of the Islamic world. But this matter must be organized by a general plan that would bring together all the parts of the partial plan that is in effect now. I had an opportunity to look into some of these plans which [first and] basically seek to coordinate the relationship between specialists in new countries and, second, to establish more cooperation between them and the seat of Islam.

If development plans can broaden the areas of cooperation between the seat of Islam and the advanced centers through the international Islamic organizations; if the circulatory and life-giving system can be strengthened between the Islamic capitals, where the original centers of culture are located, and the new Islamic ports, where scientific progress can be found; if this were possible; and if we were patient in supporting it, we would actually be able to give the new century a distinctive, scientific and cultural nature that would differ from that of the 14th century.

The Economy of Effort

This cooperation requires that we set up an Islamic data bank, an international, Islamic documentation center to organize information about us for the scientists and the research they are carrying out and for the exchange of information between researchers and across the fields of research. This in turn would reduce the time [required for research]. No effort would be lost to redundancy or proceed on conflicting lines. Branches of this bank may be established in the capitals of Islam, and they may be tied with an organized communications network. Let us try to bring such a bank into the circle of Islamic immunity. The researchers are building the future. Let us give them their right to work and to establish themselves so they can give us the production that is our right.

It goes without saying that these suggestions do not conflict with the broader steps that Arabs and Moslems are taking to regain [the usurped] land and the sacrosanct objects and to cooperate with each other in scientific or military fields.

Let me return to the starting point.

Let me go back to the hopes and the possibilities.

Let the hopes be big hopes. Let the steps on the road be possible and steadfast. Life goes on. Let us give the hopes their due to reach maturity on the road of possibility. Let us consider at length what God Almighty said: "The sun is not allowed to overtake the moon, nor does the night outpace the day. Each in its own orbit runs" [Yasin: 40].

These are general lines each of which needs some detailed explanation. Let the first planning attempts be those of an agency like the Islamic Conference Organization. It would compile the proposals and the research articles that are being published now to meet the new Hegira century. Let the Islamic Conference Organization try to formulate from these proposals and research articles a comprehensive plan and then determine the stages and the priorities for progress. Newspapers, magazines, and scientific organizations that contribute to this subject may help the Islamic Conference by sending copies of the studies they published in preparation for the translation of these proposals into a comprehensive plan and into partial plans as well as stages and programs of action.

We ask God to make us steadfast in our purpose and resolute in our pursuit of sensible conduct.

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CHALLENGES FACING ARABS, MOSLEMS LISTED, ANALYZED

Kuwait AL-'ARABI in Arabic Nov 80 pp 26-30

[Article by Dr Shakir Mustafa: "We Are in a State of Siege, Not Facing Challenges"]

[Excerpts] Not long ago a musical was playing in New York and in London. Its success and popularity were such that it played for years. The title of the play reveals what it is about: "Stop the World! I Want To Get Off!"

The hero of the play is weary of the world. He is fed up, hopeless and worn out by the challenges of the age, and he wants to leave the ship on whose board he was placed in spite of himself.

"If given the choice, he would readily abandon her;
"Was he not led to her against his will?"

Can the passengers on this globe, floating amidst the infinity of the stars, make such a statement? Can they stop the terrestrial vehicle and get off? Can they submit their resignation and escape? One thousand years ago, [the Arab poet] al-Ma'arri said:

"And would man escape from the dominion of his lord
"And flee from His earth and His skies?"

If the world cannot be stopped and if no one can get off and escape, then everyone on this globe, whether he wants to or not, is facing the challenges of life and of the age. Everyone [on the globe] is playing a part in the great game of humanity--the tragic game that is crushing this age.

Never in any one of the ages of history has the struggle between the powers of the world with its challenges and its magnitude been more vicious in its brutality, more potent in its devices or broader in its scope than it is today. This is the age of terror for individuals and nations alike. It is the age in which the weakest is crushed to the bone. In the final analysis all of life may be a battle between the strongest and the weakest. The history of human societies in its entirety may be no more than the story of challenges and counter challenges--no more than a tooth and nail story. Even those who summarized the story of humanity in a few words did so in those terms. Darwin wrote of "the struggle for survival"; Marx wrote about "the class struggle"; and Toynbee [developed] the theory of "challenges." But this age in particular is different; I can almost say that it is a tragic age.

The difference between it and previous ages lies not in the quality of the process of struggle and not in the eternal process of challenge, but rather in the fearful degree to which this challenge has been pushed, in the satanic powers and devices that are being used in that challenge and in the extent with which the challenge has spread into space.

Am I falling into (a state of) gloomy pessimism?

I have always hated darkness and gloom. I have never allowed the darkness of night to overwhelm or have the better of me. This gloomy family of despair, pessimism, nightmares and nihilism with its recently hatched chicks and their nesting places, stays forever outside my frame of reference. Faced with the question of challenges, however, I was not able to flee from this devilish family. I was not able to prevent it from abiding in my view or hovering around me.

Will I be forgiven if I make, here and there, scathing statements? Will some intellectual leader imbued with a Mohammedan spirit light a fire and turn on the light?

Our Backs to the Wall

I do not just see us in a state of challenge. Challenge lets one have weapons with which one can maneuver and space in which one can take action. We are in a state of siege. Not only has the glove been thrown in our faces, but we are also fighting with our backs to the wall. The cosmic powers that are standing on the other side are not only challenging us, but they are also setting up fires and bases on the borders. They are mining the gates, setting up catapults and entering into the mountains like demons in fairy tales. Against our wishes they are forcing us to make a crucial choice (by making us) ponder Shakespeare's fatalistic question: "To be or not to be, that is the question."

Indeed I know that the reader, seated comfortably in his chair will describe me as a manic depressive or will accuse me of hallucinating. If he is merciful, he will accuse me of extreme exaggeration. But is there no room for warning in the course of celebrating the arrival of the new century? Should a scout lie to his people and leave them in their dazed stupor while (approaching) Tatarian boats eclipse the dawn?

Let us first look into the factors of the situation and define our terms and our boundaries. First of all, the Islam that we are referring to in the challenge is not the Islamic religion. It is this enormous cultural institution which one-fifth of the world's population professes that is presenting the challenge. It is challenging its own people as well as others. As a doctrine and a way of life Islamic ideology has established for itself a permanent corner which is one of the most prominent in humanity's religious thought. It has affirmed itself historically, and is one of its most important positive attributes.

Second, the Islam that we are referring to is not the cultural, social and spiritual heritage of the Islamic countries. Fourteen centuries of continuous cultural effort (with their ups and downs) established the roots of this heritage, solidified its rich body and made it a principal part of the greater heritage of humanity.

It is the Moslems [themselves] who are the subject of the challenge: it is the Moslem human community in whose midst, at whose forefront and in whose most prominent center the Arab nation is located. In this sense Islam has three inter-related cultural centers: the Arab center, the African center and the Asian or Indochinese center. All these centers are located in what has been called the Third World. It is the world of the orphans of the age—a world characterized by [the following]:

A. Densely populated ethnic communities, leading a uniquely structured life. These communities have ancient structures, relations and classes. Their traditions are ancient, and their populations are multiplying exponentially.

B. Conventional productivity with limited returns. Their material and human energies are dissipated, and they have a poor standard of living among whose features are depression and poverty.

C. They have conventional cultural structures whose slow pace is hardly able to help them develop, open horizons for revolutionizing socio-economic relations or contribute to the powers of the age and its alarming ideas. Let us [then] move into the 15th century.

Our Eyes on the Ground

The new century has actually emerged, and its new moon is shining in the sky. But I doubt that very many Moslems gazed at the sky and realized that along with this new moon a new century had dawned on Islam. If Moslems had looked up, I doubt once again that they would have thought about the meaning of the dawn of this new century in the context of the age, and I doubt that they would have run after the magnitude of its challenges. Hundreds of millions of the Moslem masses—and the Arab masses are in the same boat—are preoccupied with trivia. Their outlook is lowly. No one looks at the sky or at the horizon. "Your hearts are taken up with worldly gain from the cradle to the grave. But you shall know. You shall before long come to know. Indeed, if you knew the truth with certainty, you would see the fire of Hell: you would see it with your *very* eyes. Then, on that day, you shall be questioned about your joys" [Worldly Gain].

I cite this warning from the Koran to give not only spiritual advice, but also material advice on life. Many people are distracted from, unconcerned with or indifferent to the future and destiny, living absentmindedly outside time. To many, this occasion is presented as a religious, ceremonial occasion. The Hegira [emigration] attribution which is bestowed upon on the century, clothes it in religious garb and ascribes to it a transcendental and religious nature. This entails echoes of prayers, images of minarets, rounds of recitations from the Koran and the aggrandizement of the pilgrimage. It were as though the Hegira calendar were running a lonely course in time, as though the coming century would proceed on the same pace and with the same tempo as the previous centuries had; or as though it were another page, like its predecessors, to be added to the eternally recurring annals.

If we were to do away with this split in the image and if we were to remind ourselves that we are in the last two decades of the 20th century and that most of the 15th century [Hegira] will be in the 21st century, those challenges will reveal themselves as though they were a procession of demons.

The First Challenges

The first one of these challenges is that of the growing tyranny of eastern civilization. This "white evil," as some of its own people call it, is sweeping all boundaries like Noah's flood. Both the socialist East and the imperialist, capitalist West are joining together in pushing this tyranny to its utmost. Never in the entire history of humanity has there been a civilization with such satanic powers and with such universal tyranny. This is not a traditional cultural imperialism that we are facing, but rather a cosmic cultural dragon that moves about with giant-like steps, trampling under its feet the little creatures and the ready borders that are set up by other cultural groups.

This civilization which was founded four centuries ago by plundering and enslaving the three continents is still plundering and enslaving others and is practicing more tyranny than tyranny itself. If the gold discovered in the United States and the wealth of Asia and Africa, which were colonized for 300 years, made the United States what it is today, it is the cultural surplus accumulated in the West that is imposing backwardness, slavery and abject subjugation on others. Among the expressions that recur at meetings between the North and the South or between the advanced countries and the developing countries is that "the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer."

[It is also said] that one of two alternatives loom in the horizon before the year 2000: an explosion or a famine.

The source of this civilization's might lies in the fact that it entered the second post-industrial revolution during the sixties—the age of a revolutionary technology in production power. In the seventies, with the lunar landing, it entered the second age of discoveries: the age of cosmic man and satellite civilization. In [all] this we have been spectators and not participants; [we watched] in a daze, lacking the positive [attitude] that would keep us in touch with the age. This civilization is putting advanced technology, applied cybernetics and computers to work, and it is using brainwashing techniques more frequently and with increasing complexity so it can penetrate the macrocosm and the microcosm and impose its logic, its interests, its beliefs and its intellectual and material invasion. Willingly or unwillingly, we endure, as a result of all this, subjugation, bloodshed, ideological defeat and blatant aggression—blatant to the point of being contemptuously degrading.

The 21st century will be qualitatively different from the entire past and also from the present which we are experiencing. Revolutionary methods initiated in industry in the fields of information and communication, and the use of cybernetics in management, business and in advanced electronic computers, are destroying all the primary cultural bases in favor of a new cultural structure. This will not only lead to a cybernetic-electronic-space age, but it will also lead to the age of one civilization that will ravage all others. Will western civilization destroy us? Yes indeed it will. The only place we will have in it is that which slaves had in ancient civilizations.

Woe to the Inert

The second one of these challenges is that of the rhythm of the age with its alarmingly swift revolution and its profusion of knowledge, production and consumption. Today, the world is experiencing a revolution that is like an earthquake; it is shaking the very foundation of life, thought, communications and change. It is a revolution in relations between thought, time and production and between time and change; it is a revolution in time. Woe to the inert!

If we want figures, the amount of knowledge which man has discovered in the last 15 years has been computed to be twice that of what he has known and discovered since the birth of civilization until that time. The alarming acceleration is growing. In the advanced countries, it is the scientists who will become the proletariat of the future in a matter of two or three decades.

Citing figures again, man spent 5,000 years after his creation before he discovered writing. It was only 500 years ago that the printing press was discovered. Man then began printing about 1,000 books a year. In 1960 the rate was 700 books a day. In 1965 that rate rose to 1,000 books a day. Today, the daily rate is 2,100 books.

By the year 2000 electronic [devices] will have replaced paper. This is not science fiction; it is the future reality. Books will be programmed into computers, and a reader will be able to peruse them in his home from the data banks which [he contacts] by means of telecommunications devices.

Citing figures again and again, the fastest means of transportation before Christ was the bicycle, which traveled at 35 kilometers an hour. Around 1890 the steam engine achieved the speed of 120 kilometers an hour. In the sixties of this century man traveled in rockets and reached the speed of 6,000 or 7,000 kilometers per hour. Then man revolved around the earth in space ships at 30,000 kilometers an hour. In 1968 man traveled to the moon at a speed of 142,000 kilometers an hour. This means that he traveled all around the earth and more in 1 hour! Today man can travel to the stars at many times more that speed. Where will he go [after that]?

What about production? Production in the West from the dawn of the century until World War II increased at an annual rate of 5 percent. From World War II to 1965 it increased at a rate of 7 percent. In the next 10 years it increased at a rate of 10 percent. This means that a child who was born in 1910 found himself in 1975 surrounded by a society that was producing 40 times what it was producing on the day of his birth.

What about consumption? Let us assume that the energy generated from burning 33 million tons of coal is [equal to] K. Man consumed only half a K from the birth of Christ till about 130 years ago. Today, man is consuming energy at a rate of 1 K every 10 years, and more is yet to come!

The world is floating on a ship piloted by 1,000 devils. Our ancestors used to say that time was like a sword; if you don't cut it, it will cut you. This piercing statement has never been more meaningful as it is today. The world is no longer a

two-dimensional flat surface now that its spherical nature has been discovered. The world has become three-dimensional. Ever since relativity [became known] and ever since the introduction of the computer, the world has entered the age of the fourth dimension: the time dimension. Does not time present a broad challenge?

The World That Woke Up

The third challenge is that of the tempestuous awakening that is taking place everywhere in the world. The world no longer belongs to the West alone as it did in the past. Nor does it belong to us alone as it did centuries ago. The world now belongs to the growing hordes of humanity whose voices are being heard from every corner of the world asking for their place in the sun. The United Nations, which after World War II had no more than 45 members, now has 151 members who are affiliated with no less than 9 or 12 cultural centers. Numerous religions have joined the international forum. Conflicting ideologies stepped into the arena [along with] strange aesthetics [and] brainwashing. The bustling crowd proposed negro cultural programs along with Chinese programs and Indian programs along with Latin American programs. The bets will be placed on those who will keep their heads above the western flood and on those who will be delivered from drowning and from being trampled under the feet of those who will be rushing towards the future. These young international forces which have been storing such energy, resentment, heritage and aspirations are in turn approaching the procession and leaving their negative as well as their positive marks on the lines [of battle].

The fourth challenge is the greatest one: it is the internal challenge. If the other challenges are challenges of "the other," this self-acting challenge is more difficult and more severe. These traditional intellectual socio-economic structures, which have so far been protecting us and giving us a sense of negative security, have begun to crumble and to disintegrate under the blows of the age. All the structures are being shaken: the natural, the supernatural and the cultural structures are all being shaken.

"He was so shaken and disturbed,
"It seemed as though the earth shook under his feet."

The given factors of the age leave nothing but sand under our feet. Even the "shells" into which the "dignified" withdraw no longer provide a shield for resistance. They too crumble into bits and pieces. Just as isolation is no longer possible, capitulation is no longer acceptable. The [trappings of the] age penetrate one's home and kidnap one's children. They pull the comfortable rug from under one's feet and from under the feet of one's neighbor. The age is giving the following generations assumptions and ideas other than ours. Just as the West and the East rob us of our monies, our wealth, our lands and our minds, this age is taking our cultural shield away; it is either trying to take it away or it is trying to empty its content.

The greatest challenge is that of the need to reconcile with the age from our cultural possibilities. It is that of sensing the accelerating rhythm of time and introducing it into the system of values and the method of production. It is that of mandatory coordination with the movement of humanity and of a spontaneous radical revolution from within.

If the sense of inevitable change, revolution or development is something about which everyone is in agreement--see the books, the propaganda, the conferences and the pleas of reformers and revolutionaries in this regard--and if this sense is an indication of health and vigilance, its shortcoming lies in the fact that it does not take time into account. Time is not on our side. It is fleeting at a frantic pace. The triple speed which is required of us--the speed of catching up, the speed of the age itself and the speed of the race--is still beyond our sensory perception.

Dont's speak to me about the Islamic Revolution for which the bells are tolling today. It still lies within the realm of reactions, and it is still political in nature. The military class that is leading it is an institution whose structure is western to the core. The most that it can do is decline into sectarianism or into a reactionary axis. Fear of the Islamic Revolution which has been spread all over the world by the western and the eastern media was merely an attempt on the part of the East and the West to reassure [themselves] that the Islamic Revolution will not become a radical, cultural and socio-economic revolution. The Islamic Revolution will not become a revolution that is congruent with the age; it is the revolution of a civilization that is opening up another path for humanity.

If one were sympathetic with the embattled position we, the Arabs, hold, one would find that we are the only tragic nation in the 20th century. There is not a nation on earth in this age that is suffering as much as we are from the fierce struggle of the powers and the magnitude of the challenges.

What is the reason for this? The reason is that the curse of the Third World is for us a threefold curse. We are exploited because we belong to this orphan world. We are also attacked because we are Moslems whose historic positivism poses many dangers to the West. Finally, we are subjected to a fatal siege because we are Arabs who occupy a critical international strategic location, posses energy resources, substantial funds and growing human experience. All these are dangerous "sins" that may not be forgiven.

In the next century it is our destiny that will be the subject of bets because bets are being placed now for the next age: the second age of slavery. We will have one of two roads:

We can either get out of the siege or die under the [Tatarian] boats. No one can escape, and no one can say, "Stop the world; I want to get off!"

Didn't I say that we were in a state of siege?

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WAYS OF INCREASING EGYPT'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-ITQISADI in Arabic 18, 25 Aug 80

[Series of articles by Mahmud Murad: "Egypt's Food Supply in the Future"]

[18 Aug 80, pp 16-20]

[Text] The World Will Be Facing a Great Famine After the Year 2000

In order to provide food for ourselves till the year 2000, we will need 10 billion Egyptian pounds plus 70 billion cubic meters of water plus 5 million feddans of land.

Why was Egypt not complaining 30 years ago? Now Egypt is importing millions of tons of basic commodities.

Is it reasonable for us to import more than 80 percent of the wheat and 90 percent of the lentils that we consume?

Who is not concerned with the subject of Egypt's food supply in the future? Who does not deal with it in his conversations and comments every day, whether with members of his family or with other people--and talks to himself about it if there is no one else to talk to about it?

How many people among us do not have problems concerning food? Think how many of us there are who make jokes about the prices of vegetables, fruit, and a kilogram of meat. Look at all those among us who wish to go back to the good old days, even if it is back to a time which is just a few years ago. We are also hoping that the future will be better, and that it will provide us and our future generations with an abundance of food which will be both of good quality and reasonably priced!

This is an issue which preoccupies everyone because it is part of the essence of life. In fact it is life itself. Although some people are content to merely talk about the problem, there are others who have given free rein to their tongues and to their minds. They are moving and thinking in every direction in an attempt to arrive at a solution to this problem!

The question is, is it actually possible to arrive at a solution? This question is especially apropos because the whole world, as we are told by Dr Sayyid Jaballah, the former minister of planning, will be stricken with a great famine which is lying in wait to ambush us sometime after the year 2000!

In order to figure what our future food supply will be, it is necessary to introduce additional figures into our calculations. For example, we have to calculate the water from the Nile, and how it will be utilized. In other words, we have to calculate what is called the water distribution balance. Also we have to calculate the nature and fertility of Egypt's land, the crops that we will be planting, and how to develop these crops so that they become of better quality and more abundant.

Egypt's population grows by about 1 million persons each year, that is, we have an additional 1 million stomachs that want to eat food 3 times a day or more. So we have to figure the volume of consumption of food of all types that Egyptians will be eating every day and every year, regardless of who has enough to eat and who does not have enough to eat! The important thing is that Egyptian stomachs devour a quantity of food which must be taken into account when we are figuring how much to produce and how to do it.

This type of calculation is difficult, but it is at the fingertips of scientists who are able to solve such riddles with ease. It is true that these scientists are of different opinions, but this difference in opinions is a blessing because it is a clash of opinions which can give birth to a spark of light which can illuminate the facts for us.

One of these facts is that agriculture in Egypt until the latter 40's was a traditional type of agriculture which was carried on by primitive means and depended on physical effort expended by men and animals. The land ownership situation was as follows: The overwhelming majority of Egyptians--94.5 percent--owned less than 5 feddans of land, and altogether they owned about 35 percent of Egypt's total agricultural land area. On the other hand, 5.5 percent of the landowners owned about 65 percent of all of the land, and among this group a mere 0.1 percent of the landowners owned 20 percent of all of the land. This is what the situation was before the 23 July 1952 Revolution. (See Table 1) As a result of this, the relationship between the landowners and tenant farmers was predominantly one of despotism and arbitrariness. There was no minimum wage for agricultural laborers. The prevailing system was one of detailing laborers to jobs, and this system threatened to take away their means of livelihood unless they worked for just a few piasters.

But regardless of the social and class situation which was created by this type of economic structure and system of ownership, the question remains--did agriculture then meet the food supply demands of the people?

This question has been answered by the Egyptian scientist Dr Mustafa al-Jabali, formerly the minister of agriculture and the recipient of this year's award from the state in appreciation for his services in the field of science: "In spite of all of these bad conditions, Egyptians at that time did not feel that there was any danger threatening them as far as their food supply was concerned, nor

Table 1. Distribution of Ownership of Agricultural Lands Before the 1952 Revolution

Amount of land owned	Property owners (1,000's of persons)	Percentage	Total area (1,000's of feddans)	Percentage
Less than 5 feddans	2,642	94.3	2,122	35.4
5-10 feddans	79	2.8	526	8.8
10-20 feddans	47	1.7	638	10.7
20-50 feddans	22	0.8	654	10.9
50-100 feddans	6	0.2	430	7.2
100-200 feddans	3	0.1	437	7.3
More than 500 feddans	2	0.1	1,177	19.7
Totals	2,801	100.0	5,984	100.0

did they clearly feel that there was a shortage in basic food commodities. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the amount of agricultural land which an individual owned then was enough to supply him with his basic needs in terms of food. This is in addition to the crops such as cotton, rice, and onions which were being exported."

I differ with Dr al-Jabali's opinion that the amount of land allotted to each individual was sufficient for him. Or perhaps I should say that his criterion is wrong, that is, one cannot divide the total agricultural production by the number of inhabitants in order to obtain the average share of each individual. This is because the social conditions which created class divisions, as is indicated by the data showing distribution of ownership, were the dominant factor in the distribution of food production and, whatever criterion is used, they caused the distribution to be unjust. One must also remember that the illiteracy rate, as well as the level and type of jobs performed by individuals then, were factors which limited their lifestyle, aspirations, and consumption in general. This means, for example, that all individuals were not equal in the quantities of meat that they ate, nor in the number of times that they ate it. In this regard, there was a wide and dreadful disparity between individuals. Even after the revolution the principal meal for most Egyptians consisted of an onion and a bowl of whey. We should also be using this criterion when dealing with dozens of other goods and commodities. If we say that agricultural production was sufficient for peasants living in the countryside and even for the poor people living in the cities, then where was it that they lived, and what was it that they ate and drank? We have to remember that there was a limit which had been set for the desires and aspirations of the common people, and that this limit represented a firm barrier which was overcome only by very few people. And in the eyes of most people, crossing this barrier was considered to be a type of undesirable integration [between classes]. The minority of people who represented the privileged class maintained this system and they exploited the

religious feelings of the common people by giving a biased interpretation to the Koranic verse "We have made some people higher than others in degree."

In any case, I thought it would be good to present this brief glimpse of the past, which gave birth to the present, before discussing our contemporary situation and its problems.

New Changes in Agriculture

During the period from 1952 to 1980, many radical changes occurred which affected Egypt's agricultural, social, and population structure. The most important of these changes was the emergence of the 1962 agricultural reform law, along with its amendments in 1961, 1965, and 1969. In the opinion of Dr al-Jabali, this led to an "improvement in the agricultural land ownership structure," regulated the relationship between landowners and tenant farmers, prohibited the expulsion of peasants from their land for legal reasons, set a minimum wage for agricultural laborers, and regulated credit and marketing within a cooperative structure. In his opinion, this law and others led to the elimination of some forms of exploitation, the great disparity in land ownership, and to the improvement of social relationships in the rural areas.

Dr al-Jabali also is of the opinion that the construction of the High Dam, and its resulting regulation and control of the waters of the Nile, made it possible to establish an ambitious program for the reclamation of an estimated 900,000 feddans of new land. But then the 1967 War came and this prevented the completion of this program, which still had 500,000 feddans to deal with. Also, the High Dam led to the doubling of the area being planted with rice--a crop which needs lots of water. The area under rice cultivation came to total 1.2 million feddans per year, and the degree of intensiveness in the planting of rice rose from about 15 percent to about 19 percent.

However, this period also saw the happening of some things in the field of agriculture--our source of food supply--which could be considered negative, even though they are considered to be "positive" from the point of view of other sectors in the economy. For example, industrial development is a positive factor when it comes to those who are interested in industrialization, development, and modernization of society. But working with machines is different from working with hoes and plows. Industrialization involves new factors which have an impact on people's behavior, cause them to follow a settled way of life, and bring about urbanization. However, agriculturalists say that industrial development has occurred at the expense of agriculture, since agriculture has borne the burden of providing the necessary investment for industrial growth. Furthermore, the migration of people from the rural areas to work in the factories has led to a shortage in the agricultural labor force. In addition to this, urban expansion and the establishment of new cities and housing developments, with all of their utilities, have led to the devouring up of agricultural land. About 60,000 feddans of agricultural land is lost every year! These areas which have been suitable for agriculture and are disappearing represented a barrier and a source of conflict for the new agricultural lands which are being established based on the utilization of water provided by the High Dam. The amount of land which has been lost due to urban expansion totals more than the amount of land which has been

There is another factor which has been prominent during this period, and that is the tremendous increase in population. In 1952 Egypt's population was about 25 million, but by 1980 it had become 42 million. Likewise, prices have increased to such a degree that incomes have not been able to keep pace with them. According to Dr al-Jabali, it was after 1973 that there occurred a widening of the gulf between incomes in Egyptian society. All of this has had a negative impact on the food supply problem. And this has resulted in a widening of the gap between food production and food consumption!

My basis for stating the size of this gap is an official document, prepared by Dr Mahmud Dawud, minister of state for agriculture and food supply, concerning the volume of food production and consumption. He considers this document to be his basis of dealing with the problem of food supply in Egypt.

Table 2. Document From the Office of the Minister of State for Agriculture and Food Supply Concerning the Development in Production, Consumption, Importing, and Exporting of Egypt's Principal Commodities From 1960 to 1979 (in thousands of tons)

		1960	1970	1977	1978	1979
Wheat	Production	1443	1269	1697	1933	1856
	Consumption	2185	2361	5999	7053	6707
	Imports	624	1036	4302	5120	4851
Rice	Production	1056	1736	1477	1528	1630
	Consumption	846	1131	1284	1375	1505
	Imports	-	-	-	-	-
	Exports	207	605	193	153	125
Beans	Production	208	297	270	231	236
	Consumption	230	297	293	263	255
	Imports	22	-	32	32	19
Lentils	Production	48	24	24	16	9
	Consumption	52	50	69	66	69
	Imports	4	26	45	50	60
Edible oils	Production	109	130	91	112	123
	Consumption	104	178	327	355	414
	Imports	-	57	236	243	291
	Exports	5	-	-	-	-
Sugar	Production	338	324	603	629	620
	Consumption	278	230	808	922	971
	Imports	-	-	205	293	351
	Exports	43	89	-	-	-

This document (see Table 2) shows that we produce about one-fourth of the wheat--our basic food commodity--that we consume. This is according to 1979 statistics. The rest of the wheat is imported, and this amounts to 4.851 million tons! Also--and this is something which is really strange--we import 60,000 tons of lentils. This is approximately 7 times what we produce, which is 9,000 tons, and represents more than 90 percent of what we consume [sic]! And as we all know, lentils are one of the foods eaten by the Egyptian masses!

Let us now put aside this document, which really needs to be read two or three times, and ask the following:

What then is the solution?

First of all, 10 billion Egyptian pounds must be set aside for land reclamation. It is true that Egypt's land is fruitful and fertile. But it has become exhausted because it has been used for so long and has produced so much. This is why it constantly needs to be fertilized, particularly after the construction of the High Dam which blocks the silt, keeping it as far away as the Sudanese border. This makes it twice as necessary for our land to be treated with good varieties of fertilizer. Since this is true, and if we add to this the fact that we are losing land due to urban expansion, as has been pointed out, then what we need to do is to have new land to reclaim and to cultivate.

What is the total area of land that we need, and on what basis do we estimate this total?

Dr al-Jabali says that what we need depends on what our population is. If we assume that the annual rate of population increase is about 1.25 million persons, then this means that by the year 2000 Egypt's population will total about 67 million. And if we assume that each individual will need half a feddan of new land in order that his basic needs be satisfied, then it will be necessary to reclaim about 600,000 feddans of land every year (in order to meet the needs of the increasing population). We must also bear in mind that every year 60,000 feddans are lost as a result of urban expansion. This means that we have to reclaim 660,000 feddans every year, that is, about 13 million feddans of new land must be made arable by the year 2000. This is a goal which is difficult to achieve and requires enormous amounts of money and huge resources and potential.

Therefore we must modify our calculations and have them conducted on the basis that each additional individual due to the population increase would have only one-seventh of a feddan. In fact, this is the amount of agricultural land per individual that Egypt has right now.

In such a case we would need to reclaim only 180,000 feddans (instead of 600,000), in addition to the 60,000 lost due to urban expansion. This means that we would need to reclaim about 250,000 feddans per year, that is, 5 million feddans by the year 2000. This will cost 10 billion pounds if we figure on the basis that the cost of reclaiming 1 feddan, according to 1980 prices, is about 2,000 pounds. This means that we would need about 500 million pounds per year.

Is it possible to achieve this?

In the past, the most that we have been able to reclaim during a single year has been 150,000 feddans. But it is possible for us to increase this figure and to reclaim 250,000 feddans every year. We can do this if we utilize nontraditional methods, eliminate present-day obstacles, and succeed in attracting investment both from inside Egypt and from abroad. Also, we would have to untie the hands of the private sector so that individuals could benefit from the fruits of their efforts and not be exploited. Above all, we would have to set up a good water distribution balance and system which would utilize the waters of the Nile in a way which would be both better and more just, and without losing a single drop of it!

Billions Are Being Lost From the River

As far as Egypt is concerned, its main water resource is the Nile River. The following was said in a study made by the National Council for Production and Economic Affairs, which is one of our specialized national councils: "Due to the construction of the High Dam, and due to the fact that its large capacity is used as a permanent water reservoir, Egypt has come to the point where it can guarantee itself a fixed annual yield of water which is calculated on the basis of the average water yield of previous years. This average yield is 55.5 billion cubic meters of water per year."

If we add to this principal source of water the other sources of water that are now available, such as ground water which provides us with about half a billion cubic meters, and the constant drainage water which gives us 9 billion cubic meters, then the total water yield per year becomes 65 billion cubic meters. In addition to this, there are also other quantities of water which we expect to have. This includes the water which is lost from the Nile River bed in its upper reaches. Research has shown that the average total of water which is lost in the swamps of southern Sudan is 36 billion cubic meters per year. If we disregard water that is lost through natural causes such as evaporation, leakage, etc, the amount of water that it would be possible to save, if projects are implemented in the area of the Upper Nile, is 18 billion cubic meters per year. If this water were divided equally with Sudan, then Egypt's share of it would be 9 billion cubic meters per year!

There are also projects designed to transform sea water into fresh water which can be used for irrigation. This could provide us with several million cubic meters of water. What all of this means is that the sources of water which are currently available to us are sufficient, especially after the construction of the High Dam. But the question is do we have enough ambitious plans for expansion and land reclamation?

Dr al-Jabali says that if it were possible to have about 11 million feddans of land under cultivation by the year 2000, then this would require about 66 billion cubic meters of water per year. To this you would have to add about 13 billion cubic meters which are needed for purposes other than agriculture, and this would mean that we would need 79 billion cubic meters. Using the previous method of calculation, we would end up with the following: 65 billion cubic

meters (available) + 9 billion cubic meters (expected) = 74 billion cubic meters. This means that the water shortage (compared to the amount needed, which is 79 billion cubic meters) would be 5 billion cubic meters, and this we would have to provide somehow.

But this calculation is at variance with the calculations of Dr al-Jabali--who is a professor whose field is that of water distribution balance and who is the head of a school of land reclamation. He says that Egypt's annual share of 55.5 billion cubic meters of water would go up to 57.5 billion cubic meters after the completion of the Jonglei Canal project in 1984. If we had 11 million feddans of agricultural land by the year 2000, and if we reduced the amount of water rationed from Aswan from about 800 cubic meters of water per feddan per year--which is the present allotment of water--to 600 cubic meters, then we would need about 66 billion cubic meters. Add to this the 13 billion cubic meters for purposes other than agriculture. This means that we would then need 79 billion cubic meters, that is, there would be a shortage (compared to the figure of 57.5 billion) of about 21 billion cubic meters. What can be done about this? He says that if we could recover the water which is lost in the Upper Nile Basin (the swamps previously referred to), the Sobat Basin, the Zeraf River Basin, etc., then this would give us an additional 9 billion cubic meters. This means that the shortage would be 12 billion cubic meters. If we could come up with 6 billion cubic meters of drainage water (and not 9 billion, as the National Council has calculated), then the shortage would go down to 6 billion cubic meters. At this point, he emphasizes, it would be necessary to reduce the amount of water rationed at Aswan to about 5,000 cubic meters per feddan, and this would mean that agriculture would need 55 billion cubic meters instead of 66 billion cubic meters.

But the big question is: Is it possible to reduce the amount of water rationed from 8,000 cubic meters--the amount currently used--to 5,000 cubic meters per feddan? Remember that 20 percent of the water is lost on the way due to evaporation and leakage, and this means that only 4,000 cubic meters would actually reach each feddan. If we double the frequency of our crop planting--that is, if we plant each feddan twice a year--this would mean that each feddan would be irrigated with only 2,000 cubic meters of water for each planting. Scientists believe that this amount of water is not enough for consumption and cleaning purposes. It is the opinion of this great scientist that the rationalization of irrigation is linked to the development of agriculture, and that it is not possible to achieve this within the present framework of fragmentation of land ownership and scattering of our crops! He feels that it is necessary to bring the crop areas together, concentrate on production, and revise the methods of water transportation and distribution so that they are done by methods which guarantee that less water will be lost. This would require a radical change in the viewpoint of those who utilize the water and work with it, because at present they do so on the basis that it is a resource which is freely available and one need not worry about budgeting it or watching how much he uses!

This discussion now brings us to two matters which are highly important. They are "fragmentation of land ownership" and "the manner in which the water is viewed by those who use it!" What is meant by fragmentation of land ownership,

and what is the objection to it? Does this mean that what is desired is a return to the ownership of large plots of land, with all of the feudalism and unequal relationships in the rural areas which this system would threaten to restore? And how can we get the peasants to treat the water on the basis that each drop of it should be used carefully, that it should be used for what is beneficial, and that the water is not something merely to be wasted?

[25 Aug 80, pp 18-21]

[Text] How Can We Overcome the Problem of Fragmentation of Land Ownership and Respect the Waters of the Nile?

There is a difference between solving the problem locally and solving it on a regional basis.

We only produce 8,000 ardebs of seed per year.

There is a "prescription" for increasing crop production and productivity of the land.

A very small "slice of bread," a "piece of ta'miyyah" in the narrowest Egyptian alley, and a "bowl of lentils" in the smallest village in Upper Egypt--all of these things are foodstuffs just as much as the most sumptuous meal in a large palace is. They are closely linked to the food supply problem. In fact, food such as this is really the basis of our food supply, and it constitutes both the object and the focus of concern on the part of Egypt as well as of the whole world which is affected by the food supply problem. Fear of famine has been a threat to the whole world ever since the ancient and famous theory formulated by Malthus. This fear is still alive today after the latest study made by the U.S. Department of Agriculture which says that a great famine is lying in wait to ambush the world sometime after the year 2000. This is because the countries of the world are not producing enough food for their steadily increasing population--a population which by that time will total more than 7 billion! So the problem is not a local problem restricted to Egypt. It is a worldwide problem. But in Egypt we are doubly concerned about it, because it is a life-or-death problem. It is true that we do not live to eat, but it is also very important for us to eat in order to be able to live! In the last issue of AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI we reviewed some of the factors concerning the production and provision of our food supply in Egypt, the most important of which are the land and our water supply. We ended the article by raising the question: How can we overcome the problem of fragmentation of land ownership, and how can we come to respect the water from the Nile River rather than simply grabbing and squandering it as if it were something merely to be wasted?

The truth is that it is indeed necessary to overcome the problem of "fragmentation" and "squandering" in order to even be able to start out on a sound path toward providing for ourselves in terms of a food supply. I repeat that our food supply problem is linked to the "slice of bread" because we import about 5 million tons of wheat every year. It is even linked to the "piece of ta'miyyah" because we import 20,000 tons of the beans used in making ta'miyyah. The problem is also linked to the "bowl of lentils" because we import 60,000 tons per year of this

also. I need not dwell any longer on this (see the article in the last issue of AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI), but I do simply want to point out that this discussion is not something which is a luxury. It is a necessity which demands the concern and expression of opinion on the part of all individuals interested in the future of this country!

Let us turn to the problem of "fragmentation of land ownership." First of all, let us dispense with the solution which promotes the authorization to own large plots of land. This solution, with all that it would entail, would bring feudalism back to Egypt. In connection with this, we are afraid of feudalism not only because of large landowners owning the land. We are also afraid of its other dimensions, the main one being the fact that it involves owning the human beings who work on the land and eliminating their freedom. In other words, it means returning to the society of "the master and the slave!" So let us put this aside as a solution, and let us seek a more ideal solution which is the method of "crop area concentration and combining of agricultural ownership." Let us listen to the opinion of Dr Mustafa al-Jabali, who is an Egyptian agricultural scientist, the head of a land reclamation school, and who is the recipient of this year's award from the state in appreciation for his services in the field of science:

"The predominant system of ownership is characterized by the scattering and fragmentation of property into small plots of land which do not permit the utilization of highly-effective scientific methods of agriculture. Also, the scattering of crop areas represents the predominant pattern of crop distribution on the level of Egypt's agricultural enterprises. This makes it difficult to accomplish the processes of providing agricultural guidance and instruction, and it makes it difficult to control the factors of production and to produce homogeneous commodities for local and foreign markets and for industry. Also, this lack of homogeneity in production, particularly in the case of fruits, vegetables, and some other commodities, has deprived Egypt of an important advantage which it could have when competing with the other countries of the world in the field of international trade. This advantage is that of high-quality large-scale production of goods which are exported!

"There have been numerous attempts to overcome this 'fragmentation.' These attempts have met with limited success in the case of lands which have gone through agricultural reform and which have adhered to the necessity of using a particular type of crop rotation, based on the concentration of a single crop in a given area. Furthermore, the method of crop area concentration has been applied on a nationwide level in Egypt in the case of cotton. But in the case of the other crops, the farmers have been left free to do as they please, and there are no guidelines which control the distribution of these crops. The result has been that crop production has been scattered among Lilliputian agricultural enterprises. The only solution is for us to deal with this matter if we want to modernize Egyptian agriculture so that it can utilize scientific methods and means of large-scale production. This could take place gradually by means of utilizing collectively-used irrigation and drainage ditches as a basis for distribution of intensively-planted crops. But the combined service operations have to take place on the basis of scientific and cooperative methods, and accounting and participation must be on the basis of actual land ownership. If all of this takes

place gradually, then by the year 2000 we will be able to arrive at having a type of organization of our agriculture which will permit the elimination of the defects of the phenomena of fragmentation and scattering of crops which predominate at the present time. By then we could also modernize our agriculture and rationalize the utilization of our available water resources, without our water being something which is free for everyone to plunder!"

Respect For the Waters of the Nile?

How can we respect the water that we get from the Nile, conserve every drop of it, and view it as being something which is valuable, is to be invested in what is beneficial, and should not be squandered?

Our view and our belief is that this can only be accomplished by using two methods simultaneously, each of which complements the other:

The authorities and government agencies concerned must undertake action to carefully rationalize the use of this water. This must be done by means or methods which are successful and which have a direct impact on the individual peasants in their fields. At the same time, the peasants must be aware that every drop of the water is being used for the objective he had in mind and that whatever water is lost will have an impact on his crop and his neighbor's crop. This will make the peasants more concerned about the water, and thus they will be more interested in conserving it.

All of this has to be accompanied by a campaign of agricultural guidance, instruction, and enlightenment in order that these concepts be well-understood by all of those who work with the water and make use of it.

This way we would be respecting, conserving, and benefiting from the water of the Nile. If we did this and if we successfully introduced the method of crop area concentration, then it would be possible to modernize Egyptian agriculture through the introduction of new technology. The first feature in this regard would be "mechanization," which simply means the utilization of machines in the process of tilling the land, planting seeds in it, and then harvesting and gathering together the crops. There are small pieces of machinery which can work on smaller plots of land. But it is not possible for a peasant, by himself, to buy a piece of machinery to plow only his small plot of land, and then to buy another item of machinery to plant the seeds, and still a third piece of machinery to harvest the crop. But if the crop areas were concentrated, that is, if large areas of land were planted with one particular crop, then this situation, plus the use of cooperative methods, would enable the purchase of an item of machinery which could be utilized throughout this total area. This would lead toward saving time, increasing productivity, and better use of the land instead of leaving the land fallow between one planting and the next.

Dr al-Jabali says: "Egyptian agriculture still relies on the efforts expended by men and animals. The result of this is a decrease in production efficiency and consequently an increase in the cost of production. Furthermore, the animals that are used in agriculture have to eat, and therefore they consume part

of the yield obtained from the farmland. This being true, the animals are competing with human beings in Egypt to gain the fruits of a limited plot of farmland!" Dr al-Jabali goes on to say: "The utilization of animals and human beings in the process of agricultural labor is not sufficiently conducive to the success of the method of 'intensification of agriculture,' that is, the planting of more than one crop in the same area, one crop after another. What happens is that the land is left fallow between successive crops. Losses after the harvest are much greater than when mechanization is employed, in addition to the fact that control of the agricultural work operations becomes something which is quite possible with the spread of mechanization."

Actually there is no disputing this argument. But we have our reservations about the point which concerns the matter of the animals and the fact that they consume part of what the farmland produces. This point was that machines should be utilized and animals should be dispensed with so that they do not consume, as food, the clover which is now being planted over large areas of land. We refute this point!

For the peasants, raising animals is something which is at the very heart of the make-up of life in the rural areas. We are not talking here about the necessity of using animals in agriculture. What we are in favor of is bringing in mechanization, but continuing to have the peasants raise animals in order to provide them with some food items such as milk, cheese, and butter. We feel that this custom should be promoted and that the peasants should develop their expertise in raising animals, benefiting from the necessary guidance given to them so that they can contribute toward furnishing meat and meat products.

So we have our reservations about this point. However, we agree with Dr al-Jabali's other opinions, especially with the opinion which says that in view of the steadily-increasing migration of peasants from the rural areas either to the cities or to other countries, the agricultural work force in Egypt is now suffering from an apparent shortage which has led to an increase in the wages of agricultural workers and to a noticeable decrease in their production efficiency. Consequently the costs of production have gone up. The only way out of this situation for us is to make use of appropriate mechanization for small plots of land, and this will lead to an increase in the production efficiency of the agricultural workers and to a decrease in production costs. Even more important than this, mechanization will free Egyptians from having to expend so much physical effort in agricultural work and will enable them to utilize means of modern technology.

It will also provide work opportunities which are acceptable to the young people of the rural areas who have started to shun manual labor but who would no doubt welcome working with machines. This would have an impact on the tendency to migrate from the rural areas and would make villages areas which attract people rather than areas which drive them away. The villages would then constitute a modern, changing production base and the social relationships there would become more modern and progressive. This would also permit the introduction of agricultural industries in the rural areas which would open up broad opportunities for productive jobs for young people in these areas, in addition to increasing the value of agricultural products and reducing crop losses. Above all, this would result in an increase in crop productivity.

How Do We Raise Production?

Increasing crop productivity means that each feddan starts producing more than what the average feddan produces, and this is the goal of vertical expansion in agriculture. This comes about not only by means of mechanization, but also by means of other factors. In order to properly discuss this, we should know from the outset that "productivity in the case of the principal crops in Egypt" is very high in comparison with average productivity worldwide. But the other side of the coin of this high productivity is the fact that production costs in Egyptian agriculture are very high if we take into consideration the number of agricultural workers who work in the production of a given farm enterprise. "In fact," as I was once told by Engineer Sa'd (Hijris), the deputy minister of agriculture, "in Egypt we have 4.5 million agricultural workers cultivating about 6 million feddans of land, whereas in Sweden only 200,000 agricultural workers are cultivating 8 million feddans! And in Holland 400,000 people are cultivating 16 million feddans!"

"What this situation means," according to Dr al-Jabali, "is that it is likely that our increase in crop productivity will be limited, slow, and costly. However, we do have the opportunity to double our productivity of sorghum, to raise our productivity of wheat by at least 70 percent, and to increase our productivity of rice by about 30 percent. As for raising the productivity of fruits and vegetables, it is likely that this will occur in the range of 50 percent by the year 2000. This will require the generalized practice of planting highly-productive types of crops as well as the utilization of a whole set of agricultural practices, such as using select seed, which are considered necessary for increasing production!"

"Seed" is a problem!

The basis of the problem is that we do not produce it. Instead, we depend on importing it for our agriculture. In spite of this economic open-door policy of ours, under which everybody has started to rush to get consumer goods, no one has established a single company in Egypt to produce seed and not a single Egyptian investor, either individually or together with a foreign partner, has ventured in this direction. This has not happened even though such a company would be very important to Egypt, and would be very profitable!

Dr Sa'id Mustafa, head of the Agricultural Research Center, says: "We are engaging in research which is beyond our capabilities. For this reason, we need to have Egyptian companies engage in activities in this field just as foreign companies do. Our capacity is limited to only 7,000 or 8,000 ardebs of seed. This is of no use to us because it means that our potential is lacking or even nonexistent.

Dr Mahmud Dawud, the minister of state for agriculture, agrees with this, and adds: "Last year an American company brought us some new seed for sorghum and set a price for selling it to the peasants, the price being 1 Egyptian pound per kilogram of seed. Since the ministry is interested in development, it provided a price subsidy of 75 piasters, that is, the peasants had to pay only one-fourth of the price. But this year the company representative came back and

brought only 200 tons of seed, and requested that the ministry eliminate its subsidy and let the seed freely circulate in the market. The company representative pulled out of his pocket contracts for buying all 200 tons of the seed, and this came about because the peasants were demanding to buy the seed even without the subsidy because the seed was of good quality. The peasants do not mind paying 12 pounds for 12 kilograms of seed which they can then plant in a feddan of land and harvest about 17 or 18 ardebs of a crop whereas the seed that they used to use produced only half this total crop!"

One of the most important factors in increasing production is "agricultural intensification," that is, planting more than one crop on the same area of land. Concerning this, Dr al-Jabali says: "If the present rate of intensification has already been about 200 percent, in comparison with 300 percent for the first one and 350 percent for vegetables, then it is probably possible to reach this before the year 2000. However, in order to do this we would have to generalize the planting of crops which mature early and would have to spread the use of seedlings wherever possible, and this would involve setting up plant nurseries, using modern methods in a very limited part of the agricultural land area. One thing in this regard which helps us is that Egypt has a very suitable climate which permits us to utilize every day of the year in crop production. Thus we should not waste this potential by having the land lie fallow, for any period of time, between crop harvesting and planting." An integral part of this whole operation is the process of "fertilizing the land" so that it will continue to be fertile for agriculture and stock farming. This fertilization has become even more important after the construction of the High Dam which blocks the alluvial mud--the fertile silt of the Nile--and keeps it from advancing north. As a result, Egyptian land has come to require the use of chemicals and fertilizers. Furthermore, the land requires the use of insecticides, agents for killing plant diseases, for killing weeds, and for stimulating plant growth!

So, after this brief review of the matter it is clear that the "food supply problem in Egypt" is a matter involving many factors and problems and that the future status of our food supply depends on the extent of our available potential and on the vertical and horizontal expansion which we must achieve, by means of intensifying our efforts and by utilizing advanced scientific methods. That is to say, our chronic traditional problems in this area do not mean that the end of the world has come. It is quite possible for us to solve this problem if we make use of non-traditional solutions and if we start along revolutionary and scientific paths.

Perhaps those who have read the first article in this series, in the last issue of AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI, and then have read this article up to these lines, would be wanting to ask, and rightly so: Is it possible for us Egyptians, by ourselves, to solve the food supply problem in isolation from the other countries of the world--a world which will be facing a great famine at the beginning of the next century, that is, only 20 years from now?

This question hits right on the mark. The age which we are currently living in--and also the age which is coming--is not an age in which small entities can survive. They are becoming fragments of no value--like small fish which are being eaten up by larger ones! This fact applies in the field of politics as

well as in other realms. It also applies to the realm of food supply, which is the basis of our world economy. And, as we know, economics is the basis of what motivates the nations of the world either to keep peace with each other or to clash with each other in the form of wars! It is true that the whole world is facing a problem concerning food and famine within the framework of what is called the worldwide "food crisis." Egypt is a part of the world, and consequently both affects the world and is affected by it. Instead of getting lost in a maze, what Egypt must basically do is to look around itself, not from the political point of view, but rather from the purely economic point of view. The world right now is dividing itself up into regional areas in which the nations in these areas are complementing each other in production. This is already being done by Europe, Southeast Asia, and Latin America. Now our area needs to organize, especially since our area is the domain of the "Arab nation," which has a common history and destiny and whose foundations rest on an authentic national basis.

Arab Integration...And Going It Alone!

This is what must take place. And if we consult the opinion of science, here is what Dr al-Jubali says:

"The solutions which have been suggested for solving the food supply problem cannot be implemented within the framework of Egypt alone. It is necessary for us to have integration and coordination between the agricultural policies of the Arab countries. It will require a great deal of joint Arab action to implement any plan which has the objective of providing for an abundant food supply and of setting up food reserves for the Arab countries as a provision for the near future and not-so-near future. Such a plan would also involve the mobilization of all of our resources in order to develop our food production on a long-term basis."

In general, if this is what the solution is, then Egypt alone is capable of achieving the solution to its problems. But this can only be done through greatly increased and exhausting efforts on our part, and it would require that our minds be receptive and that our intentions be good!

9468

CSO: 4802

MAJLES MEMBERS GIVE VIEWS ON REAGAN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 6 Nov 80 p 3

/Article: "Views of Islamic Consultative Council on Reagan's Victory"

/Text/ Following Reagan's victory and Carter's defeat in the American presidential elections, the chairman and the members of the Islamic Consultative Council of Iran expressed their views regarding Reagan's victory and its effect on the future of the war between Iran and Iraq, the Middle East and other international affairs in a conversation with PARS NEWS AGENCY. In combining these views, one may conclude that the election of different persons to the presidency will have no effect on the American nation's relations with deprived, downtrodden countries, in view of that country's imperialist policy, or in the words of Hojjatoleslam Khalkhali "American policy is subordinate to the capitalist world, not a person."

We present a summary of the views of the chairman and representatives of the Islamic Consultative Council in this regard:

Hashemi Rafsanjani: Reagan's election to the American presidency has no connection with us; it is the business of America and their electoral system. We have chosen this and will continue it. We will fight anyone who wants to fight with us, and we can have an understanding with anyone who wants to follow the right path."

Ali Akbar Parvaresh: "As the emam has said, neither Carter nor Reagan can have an effect on an Islamic movement, since their way of thinking is based on dealing with the political affairs of the day political custom and international custom. We are the ones who will decide whether to crush dominant values or not and, if we regress from that decision, it is natural that they will be able to play a part in either the Democratic or Republican dimension."

Musavi Kho'eyniha: "We have an argument with America; now it can have any president it wants. Carter is not relevant. We are fighting against the archcriminal imperialist policy of America. Now, whether the president is Carter or Reagan, the yellow dog is the brother of the jackal."

Pakhrroddin Hejazi: "It is true that Eisenhower was a Republican and created the 19 August coup d'etat, but Kennedy and Carter were both Democrats and caused the 5 June calamity and the martyrdom of 60,000 revolutionary martyrs. So we never think whether the enemy's enmity is pale or dark, and our overall policy will not change at all with the election of Reagan."

Ahmad Tavakkoli: "The American presidents, whether Democrats or Republicans, are the product of the overall policy of America, which is to preserve the worldly interests of America and nothing else. Therefore the election of Democrats or Republicans depends on the mode of mildness or harshness to which imperialism needs to resort in order to continue its archeriminality."

Mo'ali Karimi: "From the standpoint of the nature of exploitation and imperialism of both parties, the Democrats and Republicans, both persons, Carter and Reagan, have one characteristic; their difference is just in their method of operating. Therefore the change and transformation in the superpowers' government is just a change in surface appearances."

Mohammad Javad Hojjati-Kermani: "To us, there is no difference between Reagan and Carter. Imperialism is imperialism and colonialism is colonialism. If there is a difference between the Republicans and Democrats, it is that the Democrats always hide their iron claws in silk gloves. Therefore, the fact that imperialism will show its true fact with the election of Reagan this term is a source of joy for us because the people will be able to understand them better and fight them better."

Abdolhamid Dialmesh: "We admit of no differences in the pawns of international Zionism, because they implement their overall policies by various means. Whenever harshness is necessary, they bring in the Republicans; whenever a surface mildness is necessary, they bring in the Democrats."

Sadeq Khalkhali: "America's policy is subordinate to the capitalist world, not to a person. It is international Zionism, imperialism and the multinational monopolies which play a big part in orienting the thinking of the American presidency. To the extent that that is connected to us, we will not change our policy with the advent of Reagan to power, and will go our own way."

11887

CSO: 4906

'MIZAN' WRITERS PROTEST RAID TO PROSECUTOR GENERAL

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 22 Nov 80 p 2

/Article: "Letter of Board of Editors of MIZAN to the General National Public Prosecutor"/

/Text/ In the name of God:

Date: 20 November 1980; Number: 381

His Excellency Mr Musavi Ardabili, general national public prosecutor:

The scandal of the occupation of the newspaper MIZAN's office on the morning of Tasu'a has assuredly been conveyed to you. A group of about 15 persons, some no more than 16 years old, attacked the newspaper's office, stole documents and financial assets, broke doors, windows and drawers, wrote anti-Islamic slogans, disrupted files and archives, and brought about considerable damages.

Also four cars, with these license numbers--a yellow Benz, Tehran 22-49984, a cream-colored Benz 55523 Tehran, a musk-colored Benz 1113 and a musk-colored Benz 6546--were parked in front of the newspaper and the passengers, who introduced themselves as committee patrol officials, sat in the Benzes and oversaw the pillage of the freedom and property of the newspaper. These gentlemen, in the face of repeated requests from newspaper officials, refrained from showing identity papers and, not only did they not deter the interlopers, they even displayed affection to them before the terror-struck eyes of the people. When the newspaper officials tried to take photographs of the assailants, the people in the Benzes, on the excuse of averting a fight, prevented this action and allowed the interlopers freely to leave the newspaper office after putting masks on their faces and using vile language after 5 hours of destruction.

It is not clear to the MIZAN officials what the cooperation between the assailants and the committee patrols means; whether this was the implementation of justice and the defense of freedom which the committee patrols were watching over and carrying out.

Here one must state that after contact was made with Mr Baqeri-Kani in the Central Committee, Mr Abrari went to the newspaper office and he was the only one to take an assailant with him to the Central Committee.

In thanking him, we wish for success from God for such a brother.

Mr Musavi Ardabili:

Is there hope for others in a country which does this to a well-known newspaper whose officials have an Islamic combative past?

The people responsible for MIZAN have proceeded to publish only for the sake of performing their Islamic duty and they depend on no power but divine grace and the protection of the Moslem people of Iran. They stood and did not surrender for many years in the face of the regime of satan at a time when many people were silent. Now, again, under no circumstances will they surrender to this kind of counterrevolutionary action. In this action they well know the treasonous hand of the hireling agents of the superpowers and the parties dependent on them and consider such a non-Islamic act on the part of a group of Moslems, even a small group, to be impossible.

Mr public prosecutor:

The day before yesterday they invaded MIZAN. Tomorrow they will invade the other manifestations of freedom and defenders of the constitution. For the sake of God and the blood of the martyrs, in order to avoid the destruction of the revolution, please prevent such hostile acts. Give the order that the people who perpetrated this crime, some of whom fortunately have been recognized by us, be arrested and tried. Stipulate that their motives and sometimes their provocators be made known to society. Declare that no one has the right to trespass against the rights of others. Make it clear that the committees are assigned to defend the rights of the people. Finally, by condemning the actions of this group, show the Islamic Republic of Iran that freedom of the press, which is a necessary condition for the performance of the duty of ordering what is proper and denying what is prohibited, cannot be suspended.

/Signed/ The editorial board of MIZAN.

Copies to: the office of Imam Khomeyni, the leader of the revolution; the office of the president; His Excellency Mr Qoddusi, the general revolutionary public prosecutor; Mr Raja'i, the prime minister; His Excellency Mr Mahdavi-Kani, the minister of the interior and president of the revolutionary committees; His excellency Mr Baqeri-Kani, chairman of the Central Committee; the newspapers KEYHAN, ENQELAB-E ESLAMI: ETTELA'AT and JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI.

11887

CSO: 4902

BRIEFS

GARMSAR GUARDS DISBANDED--Tehran--The Revolutionary Guards Corps of Garmsar has been disbanded due to disorderliness, announced the Central Command Council yesterday. Pars News Agency reported that the Corps was charged with interference in government organizations, continuous violations and disobedience to the Central Command. The Central Command has ordered all Revolutionary Guards of the Garmsar Corps to report to the Coordination Base of the Central Command within 24 hours or else they will be in violation of the law. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 30 Nov 80 p 2]

WAR-STRICKEN CITIES RENAMED--Tehran--The names of war-embattled cities have been suggested to be renamed after the war heroes, announced the Ministry of the Interior yesterday. Pars News Agency reported that the cities which have been bravely fighting Iraq, in particular Abadan, have been requested to receive a name honoring extraordinary militants. The Ministry of the Interior has asked all inhabitants of the western and southern regions of the country to offer suggestions for city names. These suggestions may be mailed to the Geographical Division of the Ministry of the Interior or telephoned to 533815 or 526608 during office hours. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 Dec 80 p 2]

HIGHWAY LINK OPENED--Tehran--The second phase of the Tehran-Qom expressway will be opened on Thursday, December 11, announced the Ministry of Roads and Transportation. Pars news agency reported that the road opening ceremony will be attended by Ayatollah Husseinali Montazeri, Minister of Roads and Transportation Musa Kalantari, and Majlis deputies of Qom. It was further announced that travellers may enter the expressway at the Highway Patrol station at the 79 kilometer mark (Nalebadan of 79 kilometer). The road will be open to all automobiles, buses and minibuses from Thursday. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 7 Dec 80 p 2]

REFUGEES GET ID CARDS--Ilam--Iranian identification cards were issued to 1,350 expelled Iraqis, announced the Governor General of Ilam yesterday. Pars News Agency reported that the Iraqis had been thrown out of their country by the Ba'athist mercenary government. The Governor of Ilam further advised that 200 others expelled from Iraq had been sent to Isfahan and Jahrom. He added that the Ilam Governorate had undertaken many activities for the welfare of the expelled in face of the coming winter season. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 Dec 80 p 2]

PROFESSOR SHOT--Tehran--The head of the Science and Technology University, Dr Eerafilian, was wounded by gunfire near his home on Saturday evening, announced a spokesman of the University. Pars News Agency reported that Dr Eerafilian was returning home when he suffered minor injuries from shots fired at long range. The culprit escaped under cover of darkness. Dr Eerafilian granted an interview a few days ago in which he stated that an arms cache had been discovered in the girls' dormitory of the University after several girls belonging to the Mujahedin Khalq Organization were forcibly evicted. Uncovered was ammunition for a G-3 machine gun, a colt pistol and other miscellaneous. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 Dec 80 p 2]

KEROSENE DISTRIBUTION--Tehran--Unfair distribution of kerosene in the capital will shortly be eliminated, announced the Governor General of Tehran, Mohammad Sepehri-Rad. In an interview, he explained that an earlier plan of the Economic Mobilization Headquarters whereby each family was to receive 20 liters of kerosene each week was incorrectly implemented. For reasons unknown some areas of Tehran were left with no effective system of kerosene distribution. The Governor General advised that the Fuel and Power Committee has assigned the kerosene problem to a sub-committee for investigation. He then allowed that butane, like other oil products, is facing a shortage. The Governor called on everyone to conserve butane and advised that the National Gas Company has been contacted regarding a fair butane distribution program. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 Dec 80 p 2]

GHEE RATIONED--Tehran--Distribution of vegetable shortening (ghee) by coupon will begin December 6, announced an official of the Shortening Distribution Council to Kayhan. The daily reported that upon presentation of coupon "B" of the Economic Mobilization Base coupons, 450 grams of shortening per person will be sold at the government set price. The Council stated that the price of shortening has not gone up, and is uniform throughout the country. The price for 900 grams of shortening is 63 rials; 1800 grams is 124 rials; and 4500 grams is 294 rials. Open locally-produced shortening is distributed at the price of 65 rials per kilo. The Council will also distribute shortening to industrial and guild consumers such as restaurants and chelo-kebabis at 125 rials per kilo. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 1 Dec 80 p 2]

CSO: 4920

CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON HAIG'S APPOINTMENT

TA170705 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 17 Dec 80

[Text] About 1 year ago, General Alexander Haig--who has been chosen as secretary of state by president-elect Reagan--asked Israel to aid him among U.S. Jewish voters if he decided to run for the presidency. This has been learned by our Washington correspondent Shalom Qital. Our correspondent reported that at the beginning of the presidential election campaign Haig turned up--of his own initiative and dressed in his army uniform--at the Israeli Embassy in Washington and conferred with Ambassador 'Evron. Haig asked 'Evron whether he would support him in his run for office since his pro-Israeli position was well known. Ambassador 'Evron replied that although Israeli personalities could not interfere in the U.S. Presidential campaign the fact was borne in mind that Haig had supported and accelerated the military airlift to Israel during the Yom Kippur war when he was President Nixon's chief of staff.

Israel was asked to intervene on Alexander Haig's behalf on another occasion when Haig was mentioned as the candidate to the post of NATO commander. The secretary of state at the time, Henry Kissinger, asked the late Israeli Foreign Minister Yig'al Allon to influence his colleagues at the European International Socialist to support Haig's senior appointment with NATO. Such support was needed in the wake of suspicions about Haig's involvement in the Watergate affair.

Our U.S. correspondent noted that the secretary of state-designate is indeed known for his support for Israel. He has more than once declared the need for a strong Israel and said that he regarded Israel as a strategic asset for the United States.

Regarding the changes expected in the State Department when Haig arrives there, our correspondent has learned that U.S. Ambassador to Israel Samuel Lewis will apparently be appointed as head of the Middle East desk at the State Department. This post is currently filled by Harold Saunders. Our correspondent added that as far as is known "Haig intends to deal with Middle East affairs--as part of a series of issues to which he attaches priority--as soon as he assumes his post as secretary of state. Samuel Lewis is regarded as a noted expert on Middle East issues and as an ambassador who succeeded in his post in Israel. Therefore, he will be appointed to the senior post of head of the Middle East desk at the State Department. It has not yet been determined who will replace Lewis in Israel.

Meanwhile, West European countries last night welcomed Alexander Haig's appointment as secretary of state. Officials at the Foreign Office in London last night said that they shared Haig's approach concerning a firm stand in contacts with the Soviet Union. Correspondents note that Haig's opinions are known to West European countries from the time he served as NATO commander. According to them, Haig succeeds in establishing close relations with European leaders.

However, on Capitol Hill in Washington, there were expressions of bitterness at Haig's appointment. Correspondents foresee a difficult struggle in the Senate over the endorsement of Haig's appointment. Several senators and representatives have said that they would demand an in-depth investigation of the role played by Haig in the Watergate affair when he was President Nixon's close aid.

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IRAQI PERFORMANCE IN WAR SEEN DICTATING CHANGE IN ISRAELI MILITARY ESTIMATES

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 17, 19 Oct 80

(Article by Ze'ev Schiff: "Surprise in the Persian Gulf")

[17 Oct 80, p 13]

[Text] After 14 weeks of war in the Persian Gulf, it seems that we have already gained a rather good perspective not only on the Iraqi Army but also for introspection and self-examination of several basic Israeli assumptions regarding the eastern front, from which it would perhaps be possible to draw conclusions for the future. The immediate conclusion is that our knowledge of Iraq, and primarily the Iraqi Army, is insufficient, and this does not mean numbers and arms deals. This is a negative appraisal of the Israeli intelligence community because it seems that not only do we not know but we have not known that we do not know. The seriousness of this lack of knowledge will have to be determined by experts; nevertheless, it is good that this has come to light in a war involving others and not a war in which Israel is directly involved.

Although Iraq is a considerable distance from Israel's border, it has for some time been defined by the IDF heads as a confrontation state, whose army is likely to appear on a front against Israel as occurred in the Yom Kippur War and the Six-Day War. We must know what is happening there no less than in Syria and Jordan. If the latter two would have concentrated the main part of their armies for an attack on a third state, we would undoubtedly have had much more information then that which we had on Iraq. We would also have known the minutest details about the progress of the war itself.

The question is what we knew beyond the general estimate that a war would break out. Did we know about the large scale military concentrations of the Iraqi Army before the attack and the time for the launching of the attack? Did we estimate accurately the caliber of the Iraqi command, the status of the air force, and the anti-aircraft defense system? Were we correct in our estimates of its logistical capability and the movement of troops over long distances? It is the knowledge of these details that distinguishes an intelligence estimate from a press estimate. Incidentally on 19 and 22 April, two Saudi newspapers (AL-MAJALLA and AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT) published articles which stated that a military confrontation between Iraq and Iran was inevitable. The articles analyzed the military estimate of the Iraqi command and how each of the Arab countries was likely to react to such a confrontation.

Expected Surprise

These details are important also because the Iraqi Army surprised us in the Yom Kippur War. It was a surprise within a surprise. Our forces on the Golan Heights were surprised by the appearance of the Iraqi armored division on the front. This caused the IDF to partially withdraw one of the divisions at night. It was only thanks to the inferior caliber of the Iraqi command that we were later successful in attacking them. It became clear after the war that it was not a real surprise: we surprised ourselves more than the Iraqis surprised us. At the top, and also at the command level, they knew about the approach of the Iraqi force to the front, however for some reason the information was not transmitted to the forces at the front.

It must be estimated that even the Americans did not know accurately what was about to happen and when between Iraq and Iran until the war broke out. It was possible to get the impression that they lacked information on what was happening during the first days of the war. Whoever considers this a small consolation should note that in a few days the American intelligence services began to fill in the gaps. It is possible to sense this in their communications media who generally receive briefings in Washington. The United States has an important technological advantage over us. The ability to operate spy satellites over the battlefield provides them enormous information. These satellites provide clear pictures of every tank and cannon and details on every firing of a surface-to-surface missile, on the movement of forces, and so forth. They do not provide information on decisions and plans, however this is already a different matter. Israel does not have such satellites and this is a shame, however it is precisely because of this that we must fill in the gaps with all the other information collection methods.

In regard to the information which we had, the conclusion is clear, and this is not the case regarding the lessons which we must learn from the war about the Iraqi Army. It provides us with new and enlightening facts, however it is better to wait with the final lessons until the end of the war and until we have most of the details. History is replete with mistakes which were made on the basis of what appeared to be a failure of the enemy army. For example: Hitler's estimate of the Russian Army from the winter war against Finland. The Russian Army displayed an extremely low capability in this war, and Hitler went so far as to draw the conclusion from it that he would be able to defeat it completely.

The picture of the situation, as it appears to date in the Persian Gulf War, is that the Iraqi Army is large and is equipped with the best modern equipment which is operated poorly and primitively. It has managed to register defeats in virtually all the areas. First, the Iraqi intelligence as has been revealed in this war, has suffered a sharp defeat. It was mistaken in its estimates regarding the Iranians' military capability and the opposition of the local population. It was mistaken regarding the length of the war and apparently also on the matter of the aid which Iraq would receive from the Soviet Union during the war. What is no less serious is that the Iraqi field intelligence also failed in its estimate of the area in which the fighting would be conducted.

The logistical failure was no less great. This fact, like the operational effectiveness of the Iraqi Army, should interest us since the movement of troops and defending them are an important factor in the participation of an Iraqi force in a war

against us. It was possible to observe, for example, how the Iraqi bridging elements were delayed for several days as if they did not know in the beginning that they were involved in a region of swamps and streams. It seems that the breaks in the fighting also were the result of logistical problems and less because of Iranian opposition.

Regarding the operational caliber, the question marks are no less great. It seems that to date, Iraq has thrown about 9 or 10 of its 12 divisions into the battle (against the dispersed and relatively small forces of the Iranians). The Iraqi command apparently has difficulty in commanding formations larger than a brigade, and perhaps even a regiment. The advance, despite the first surprise which was to their credit, is conspicuously small in relation to the number of days of fighting. Despite the fact that the Iraqi Army has commando units and a substantial number of new helicopters which they acquired from the Soviet Union and France, these forces were not used for the seizure of bridgeheads and for a rapid advance. The result was that the relatively small Iranian forces were able to stop the Iraqi advance. The most notable success of the Iraqi Army has been the bridgehead on the Karun River, however even it was a small one at the time of the writing of this article. Had a more serious army confronted them, they would have certainly been pushed back.

Paralyzed Airforce

A strange case in itself is that of the Iraqi Air Force. This air force has many modern MiG-23 aircraft, long-range bombers and so forth. It has almost 500 aircraft. Such a quality and quantity of aircraft should have dealt Iran an unendurable blow. However, the force was not operated properly, and not because the Iraqis had compassion for the Iranians (many of whom are now being driven out of Khuzistan) but rather because of leadership and the level of the inefficiency. However, what is far more surprising is that these hundreds of aircraft with the many surface-to-air missile batteries have been unable to prevent the few Iranian aircraft from attacking strategic targets in Iraq. All of this is at a time when the Iranian Air Force is a shadow of what it was during the period of the Shah. Of the hundreds of aircraft, they activate a quartet here and there (after they have apparently disassembled many Phantom aircraft for the purpose of using their spare parts). It was recently also reported that the Iranians have begun to activate parts of their giant fleet of helicopters, the Cobra attack helicopters (armed with anti-tank missiles) against the Iraqi Army in the Abadan region.

Had the Iraqis been confronted by Iran's old army, from the period of the Shah, they undoubtedly would have been defeated. The Iraqi Army now holds the upper hand, primarily thanks to its enormous firepower, however it is taking many casualties and heavy damages. If the Iraqi Army in its present form were to appear on the eastern front against us, it would be soundly defeated if it were to encounter a fresh and mobilized IDF. Although the Iraqis are accruing much operational experience in this war, it also indicates that Israel's eastern front no longer appears as it did yesterday. More on this in the next article.

[Article by Ze'ev Shiff: "Change on the Eastern Front"]

[19 Oct 80, p 9]

[Text] The Iraqi-Iranian War and the operations of the Iranian Army raise questions regarding the current thinking in the IDF regarding the eastern front and its

projected threat to Israel in the coming years. Until the war, this thinking was that the eastern front has been strengthened to the extent that it constitutes a serious threat to Israel despite the peace agreement with Egypt. It is a front which can be organized rapidly even without a joint command. It can move against Israel even without Egypt's aid, and perhaps with the intention to drag Egypt into the war against us in the second stage. The conclusion of this thinking is that despite the peace with Egypt, under no circumstances should the IDF regular army be reduced. The Chief of the General Staff, Lieutenant General Rafael Eitan, even believes that the regular army should be increased if the economic situation permits.

This thinking was not accepted without question even before the Persian Gulf war. *HA'ARETZ* commented on this question by emphasizing that the eastern front is not consolidated, and the expected threat will develop only in the future, after the withdrawal from the Sinai and when Iraq acquires a military nuclear option. The Persian Gulf war has caused an additional change in this estimate. This change stems from the fact that one of the main factors on the eastern front, Iraq, has become involved in a war which will keep it occupied away from our borders for a considerable length of time. On this front Iraq has always been regarded as the primary strategic power, without whom Syria or Jordan would not dare to become involved in a war against Israel. It has now also become evident that the Iraqi Army has displayed a surprisingly low caliber of effectiveness in the war against Iran. Although it is accruing operational experience, a substantial amount of time will pass before it will derive the lessons and improve itself.

Today actors are standing on the stage of the eastern front without any real coordination among them. Each of them has improved and strengthened itself in recent years with many modern weapons. The Syrian Army has undergone a major reorganization worthy of a test, however its commanders still do not feel themselves to be capable of standing alone against the IDF. The treaty of friendship with the Soviet Union, which they did not want in the past, must be considered more as an attempt to find an answer to the possibility of an Israeli preemptive war and the internal situation in Syria. Its involvement in Lebanon is not helping this partner of the eastern front. There are opinions today (Dr Tzvi Lanir, "The Israeli Intervention in Lebanon") that the Syrian military intervention in Lebanon has even improved Israel's strategic situation.

Lebanon does not represent a partner on the eastern front. Saudi Arabia is strengthening itself and is even using extremist language against Israel to the extent of a call for a jihad. At the same time, however, it is permitting the United States to envelop it with defense belts because of the Soviet threat.

Jordan is a case by itself. Its army has also undergone a reorganization, and it is absorbing the most modern equipment which will bring its army to a level of equipment which is not inferior and perhaps even superior to that of the IDF. Those responsible for this are Britain, France and the United States, the last one of which is no longer concerned, as it was in the past, about withdrawing an old tank for every tank which Jordan receives. Jordan has wavered between Syria and Iraq and has finally chosen Iraq. Had Iraq achieved a rapid and clear victory over Iran things would have been different. Iraq could have turned westward toward the front with Israel. The danger of the Iraqi-Jordanian incursion would have been substantive and immediate.

A Period of Time

However, the results of the Persian Gulf war are different. It is now evident that even if Iraq finally achieves a limited victory on the ground, it will have to leave large forces on the Persian Gulf to protect its military gains. Baghdad will be concerned about Iranian revenge and sudden seizures. It is not impossible that the trouble with the Kurds will start again and that there will even be plans for a revolution in Iraq in the wake of the war. Baghdad's attention will be focused in the future on the Gulf front and not on the Israeli front, not to mention the need which will be aroused to correct the deficiencies exposed in its army.

This leads to the conclusion that Israel's eastern front has changed form as a result of the war in the Persian Gulf. Despite the enormous quantities of new weapons on this front its threat has lessened. If we add the fact that there is a peace agreement between Israel and Egypt, it is clear that the strategic threat projected today to Israel, simultaneously from the south and east, has been decreased. This is not a permanent situation, and it is not known how long it will continue. However, it is now certain that Israel has a period of time on the eastern front. It will apparently continue to the middle of 1982, when the IDF withdrawals from the Sinai will be completed, and perhaps longer. Much depends on the recovery of the Iraqi Army and the future of the negotiations between Israel and Egypt.

This change requires a few conclusions. One of these relates to the defense budget and the order of priorities of the defense system in the future. The shaky economic situation of the State of Israel has caused a cut of about IL9 billion in 1980. The debate over the cuts was a strange one, and it did not result in the government, in collaboration with the IDF, discussing the structure and size of the army and its strategic concepts. The debate, in the meantime, was swept under the rug, however not for long. The coming deliberations on the defense budget for 1981 and the economic situation of the state will not permit many postponements.

Sooner or later the economic condition of the state will raise the question as to the necessity for Israel to cut its regular army. There will certainly be those who will claim that this must not be done because an intelligence error is always possible and large regular army is the only guarantee against a military surprise. This will certainly be the argument of those who are responsible for overseeing the military situation, the chief of the General Staff and his deputy. If this approach is accepted, however, there will be no alternative to a drastic cut in many research and development programs of the defense system, beginning from the Lavi aircraft and smaller but extremely important development programs being implemented in the Armament Development Authority and other places. Only giant export deals of weapons systems from Israel which will bring in large sums of money are likely to save these development plans without a cut in the regular army. It is very doubtful if the answer to these questions will come from the IDF. The answers must be found by the political level, that is the minister of defense and the Ministerial Committee for Defense Affairs. They have the overall responsibility for defense and the broader view.

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RABIN, PERES SEEK ARAB VOTE

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 20 Oct 80 p 19

[Article by Moshe Meissels: "Peres and Rabin Start Bid for Arab Vote"]

[Text] Peres and Rabin start their bid this week for the Arab vote in the Labor party convention.

In the previous convention which took place in February 1977, some 100 Arab delegates participated. It is believed that they had tipped the scale by a few votes in favor of Rabin.

This time the number of Arab delegates is put at 130, and past experience prompts the candidates to go after the Arab vote. Rabin will visit Arab communities in the Galilee this week as part of his campaign, and Peres is expected to follow closely behind.

Two trends appear among the Arabs: some prefer to stay with the establishment, while others are loyal to the memory of the late Yigal Allon.

Labor party Chairman Shim'on Peres changed his tune this week as he picked up the gauntlet which Yitzhak Rabin threw at him.

At first, in a meeting with Labor's old-timers, Peres announced he would consider refraining from taking on Rabin's challenge under certain conditions. Later on he said that the party's conference should take cognizance of his unanimous election as candidate for prime minister, as was decided 10 months ago, and either uphold it or cancel it before a new contest.

While Rabin was talking about a contest for the candidacy, Peres was talking about a vote of confidence at the convention for his candidacy.

Peres' supporters have said that after Rabin has officially announced the contest, Peres' reaction could be taken to mean that he was afraid of losing and was hiding behind formal excuses. Peres was persuaded and announced publicly for the first time that he was going to accept the challenge at the convention for the candidacy for prime minister in the next government. He pointed out that although he was elected by the party center as the party leader, if challenged he would take on any candidate at the convention. He would not hide behind legalistic arguments and would look for a decisive majority.

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ARABS URGED TO FORM INDEPENDENT LIST

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 3 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Qasim Zayid: "Arabs of Israel Seeking Political Place"]

[Text] The leaders of the Arab community do not conceal their concern about the mystery which envelops their political future. The view for them is not clear, and they are seeking their proper place on the Israeli political map looking ahead to the elections to the 10th Knesset. They reject the English expression "take it or leave it" which guides the actions of most of the parties among the Arabs. The leaders of the Arab community are seeking a way out of the vicious circle. They want to break the political stalemate at any cost, and prevent the surprises and confusion which the parties cause for the Arabs of Israel.

MK Zaydan 'Atasha who for a number of months now has been trying to find his place on the political map describes the Arabs of Israel as a vine which has been cut 90 times in 30 years. He believes that there is chaos in the political party activity of the Arab sector: "The parties drop their decisions down from above without considering the aspirations of the Arab citizens". "The place of the Arabs of Israel is missing from the political map while in most of the parliaments of the world the national minorities have appropriate representation, a situation which does not exist in Israel". "All of this is a result of a misunderstanding or a denigration of the capabilities and loyalty of the Arabs of Israel."

"Israel Is Not Our State"

The result, according to MK 'Atasha, is that "the parties have rolled the ball of the Arabs of Israel against their will into the field of the RAKAH, and this distorts the true face of the Arabs of Israel." In order to avoid an improvised policy which entails surprises and confusion for the Arabs of Israel in the near future, MK 'Atasha invited a group of Arab personalities to a meeting in order to formulate advice on the direction in which the Arabs of Israel must move.

An ironclad principle which guides MK 'Atasha in his action is that "Israel is our state, and this country is our homeland. We are prepared to work with the constructive parties for the application and strengthening of this principle." 'Atasha does not conceal his concern about the methods employed by most of the parties among the Arabs--"they do not respect the opinion of the Arab citizens. They do

not build their platforms with due consideration for the positions of the Arabs of Israel who have shown that they are the best ally of the State of Israel and its governments."

MK 'Atasha wonders: "If the Labor Party is built from various sectors, why can't the Arab sector constitute a pressure group like the other groups represented in the Labor Party?"

Electoral Force

According to 'Atasha, "The Arab citizens constitute a large electoral force. In the coming elections there will be 235,000 Arab voters who can win 15 seats. Why is this force fragmented? Why are there now only four Arab members of Knesset, most of whom were elected by Jewish votes?"

What does he suggest then in order for them to escape from this entanglement? "The responsible forces among the Arabs of Israel must unite and adopt a political line for their own good and the good of the State. They must not remain split and fragmented."

Like Zaydan 'Atasha, Ibrahim Nimer, mayor of Shefaram and one of the prominent personalities in political and social work in the Arab sector, compares the current situation to an abandoned pot. He is convinced that RAKAH is unable to serve the interests of the Arabs of Israel and resolve their complex problems.

On the other hand, Abu Hatem, Ibrahim Nimer's nickname, believes that with the other parties, "we have not yet obtained what we need. If a constructive independent Arab list is not established, it will be difficult for us to compete with RAKAH, and we will be unable to demonstrate our existence. If there is a clear-thinking Arab list with a clear-cut platform, which will be ready to join a progressive government coalition, then we will be capable of significant achievements and contributing our share in the advancement of the anticipated peace campaign in the entire region."

A similar position was expressed by Shahaf Da'san, principal of the high school in Kefar Tsiviba in the Triangle: "For 32 years the parties have managed to split us into various factions and communities." Nevertheless, he also points out the danger in the establishment of an Arab list "in that in the past there were similar attempts, and they also failed." Nevertheless, despite the considerable danger, Da'san is in favor of the establishment of an independent political body--"and if not, we must look for an allied party, however under no circumstances should we continue to be satellites for the Arabists of the parties."

Labor's Test

At a meeting in Kefar Tamrah, which was convened on the initiative of MK Zaydan 'Atasha and in which about 100 Arab personalities participated, many of the speakers placed their hopes in the Alignment as the only ally of the Arabs of Israel. Others, however, maintained that an Arab pressure group must be established which

would seek appropriate representation for Arab citizens in the Alignment's list for the Knesset. They also protested against the arrogance and degradation which the representatives of the Arab community encounter in Labour's institutions.

The leaders of the Arab community are concerned that Labor will not draw the requisite lessons from their defeat, including that in the Arab sector. There have been many complaints that "while we are about 1 year away from the elections, we still do not see any clear-cut plan of action of Labor among the Arabs."

Many of those with whom we talked warn that "we are giving the Labor Party a chance, however under no circumstances will we permit the Arabs of Israel to remain a flock without a shepherd to lead them."

They Have Learned the Tricks of the Trade

Anyone who knows the situation among the Arabs is aware that the Arabs of Israel have learned the tricks of the trade. In what respect? Most of the Arab leaders have not sentenced themselves to isolation. They are grouping in every corner. Many see nothing wrong in being members in more than one structure. They come to every meeting to which they are invited, and they do not hesitate to speak their mind without difference, restraint, or fear. They do this with self-confidence and in the belief that they "are not obligated to anyone or any party."

They are ready to go with any party which will respond to their aspirations and offer appropriate solutions for their problems. I am convinced that the time when this leader or another would seek personal benefits has passed.

The Arab leaders want to be successful and at the same time find solutions for the problems which are burdening the members of their community. Nevertheless, the Arab representatives are not "looking for a groom regardless of how ugly he is." They are sympathetic to the Labor movement provided that it shows some sympathy, a warm attitude, and understanding of their problems.

Not Like a Flock Which is Led

One would perhaps not believe that even the leaders and council heads who are with the RAKAH are not like a flock which is led. One of the prominent personalities who is with RAKAH told me: It is true that the Arab Congress is the first shot in RAKAH's election campaign. It is trying to unite the Arab masses around it, but it has not achieved much success." He commented that "the storm in the press about the Congress and the uproar it is causing in the press are out of true proportion to the Congress itself.

"RAKAH has not succeeded in mobilizing new dominant forces for the projected Congress. I know that many of those who gave their consent and came to the Shefaram meeting will not come to the Arab Congress which is to be held in Nazareth and the RAKAH leadership is aware of this. This is the reason for their attempt to appease those who are endeavoring to withdraw their support for the establishment of the Congress."

He is aware of the fact that "the RAKAH intends to set the tone in the Congress and afterwards, however we on the periphery of the Democratic Front are also aware of this situation, and we will not permit the RAKAH to lead us by the nose."

Moreover, "the strength of the front stems from the non-party personalities who move in alliance with the RAKAH." The facts in the area reinforce and even confirm his comments.

We know from knowledgeable sources that a not insignificant number of those who participated in the Shefaram meeting will not come to the Arab Congress. They even express regret over their participation in the Shefaram meeting, and they even acknowledge that they were misled. The Shefaram meeting, therefore, does not really express the true strength of the RAKAH among the Arabs.

A renowned personality from the Galilee told me: "Whoever thinks that the Arab masses are blindly following RAKAH and that its ideology is blinding them is really mistaken. The Arabs of Israel are not fascinated by the RAKAH's political line, and they follow it for no other reason than the lack of an alternative."

In my humble opinion, the Arabs of Israel this time are going to be easily compromised. Any party interested in having its policy acceptable to the Arabs of Israel will have to adopt a sufficiently clear policy. The parties should not delude themselves that the Arabs of Israel can be easily misled for benefits as in years past.

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GOLAN HEIGHTS DRUZES REPORTEDLY UNDER PRESSURE

TA161129 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 16 Dec 80 p 2

[Report by Yo'el Dar: "Pressure on Golan Druzes Not To Accept Citizenship"]

[Text] Many Druze citizens of the Golan Heights have recently been under heavy pressure aimed at preventing them from accepting Israeli citizenship. This campaign is being run by three main elements: Druze inhabitants of Israel who are linked with Rakah, members of the Safadi and Abu Salah clans of Majdal Shams (the largest of the Druze Golan clans) and local priests (except for one of them).

The DAVAR correspondent reports that because of this pressure, by Friday 12 December only 360 Druze citizens submitted requests to receive Israeli citizenship.

Those requesting citizenship, together with their relatives, amount to about 1,000 people, that is, less than 10 percent of the total Druze population of the Golan Heights.

An authoritative Ministry of the Interior source told the DAVAR correspondent that pro-Israeli elements have recently lowered their voices and refrained from reexpressing views supporting Israeli annexation of the Golan Heights. The same source was able to relate that even the head of the Mas'adah Local Council, Muhsin abu Salah, who had led the pro-Israeli camp for years, only submitted a request for Israeli citizenship after persuasive discussions with influential Israeli friends. Many of his relatives and people from his village have not yet followed in his footsteps.

It may be assumed that the heavy pressure being brought to bear by local priests and members of the Abu Salah and Safadi clans has had its effect. For example, 10 days ago a religious rally was held in Madjal Shams, the largest of the Druze villages on the Golan Heights, and at its end it was decided to boycott and socially ostracize any Druze who wants to be an Israeli citizen. The rally was held in the Druze place of worship and many of those present had, directly or indirectly, benefited from Israeli rule (as did many of the Abu Salah family). Quite a few of the Safadi clan members who had shown their sympathy for the Israeli rule a short time after the 6-day war also attended the rally.

The Syrian threats to punish the relatives of those Golan Heights Druzes who submit requests for Israeli citizenship have also apparently influenced many people. The threats have been made in various ways, including by Radio Damascus.

An Israeli source told the DAVAR correspondent that the unexpected development could weaken those elements who support the annexation of the Golan Heights to Israel. "If the majority supported the annexation of the Golan Heights to Israel, as we predicted in the past, we could have claimed that this political move sprang from the wishes of the local inhabitants, but now it will be very much more difficult to take an initiative of this sort, when 90 percent of the local population have not yet submitted requests to receive Israeli citizenship" that source confirmed.

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STUDY SHOWS UNWRITTEN AGREEMENT WITH SYRIA ON LEBANON

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 14 Oct 80 p 4

[Article by Oded Granot: "Study: Unwritten Agreement Prevails Between Israel and Syria on Lebanon"]

[Text] A system of an unwritten agreement has been created between Israel and Syria on Lebanon and has laid the foundation for an Israeli-Syrian compromise on the future of this country. This is the estimate of a new study recently published by Tel Aviv University's Center for Strategic Studies.

The author of the study, Dr Tzvi Lanir, maintained that Israel has not yet displayed a profound understanding regarding the new possibilities which have been opened in Lebanon to reach a rapprochement with the Syrians. Such a rapprochement, according to Dr Lanir, would likely benefit Israel without necessarily leading to a political agreement on the Golan Heights.

The basis for this new and original thesis which Dr Lanir presents in his analysis of the achievements and compulsions operating on all the parties involved in the Lebanese crisis. This analysis indicated the creation of new game rules between Syria and Israel in this area which are completely different from the system of relations between the two countries on other issues of the Arab-Israeli conflict like, for example, the Golan Heights and the peace agreement which Israel signed with Egypt.

The creation of a system of "signals," "understandings," and "red lines" between Syria and Israel in Lebanon, in which each side (Israel and Syria) maneuvers cautiously, has produced a "pattern of conduct" by the two countries, which Dr Lanir describes as an "open pattern" of relations. This system has stabilized the relations between Syria and Israel and Lebanon and reduced the danger of their being dragged into a war.

As such, for example, Syria refrained from taking action to eliminate the Christian enclaves in Lebanon in 1977 and 1978 as a result of Israeli "signals" by reconnaissance flights over the Syrian forces in Lebanon. Israel, on the other hand, refrained from an excessive and uncontrolled reaction to the entry of a Syrian company into Nabatiyah in January 1977. In another situation, Israel gave the

Syrians to understand that it would not exploit the removal of a division from the Golan Heights in order to transfer it to the Syrian-Iraqi border during the tension between the two countries in July 1976.

Dr. Lanir describes the Israeli intervention in Lebanon as a "success story" and emphasizes, in contrast, the Syrian failure to exploit the numerous resources which it has invested in Lebanon for the attainment of political objectives.

He believes that Syria has now come to understand that it cannot achieve a settlement in Lebanon without regard for Israel's military interests in this area, and therefore, the current cease-fire, in certain circumstances, is likely to develop into a kind of "passive settlement" in Lebanon.

Dr. Lanir's study actually accuses Israeli policy of failing to as yet make an attempt to reach a rapprochement with the Syrians and especially in terms of the prospects entailed in such attempts at rapprochement in relation to the attainment of a compromise settlement in Lebanon. Such a compromise is likely to give the Syrians the possibility of an "honorable departure" from Lebanon without losing prestige, the Christians--a basis for a cantonal solution, and Israel--the strengthening of its interests in the security strip in southern Lebanon.

The researcher estimates that such a settlement on Lebanon, if it is achieved, is likely to have implications also for a solution of other aspects of the conflict, among other things, since the Syrians, unlike the Egyptians, hold in their hands significant pressure cards vis-a-vis the Palestinians.

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ISRAEL MOVES TO STOP FLOW OF PLO FUNDS INTO WEST BANK

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 8 Oct 80 p 19

[Article by Yosef Turiel: "Military Government Struggles Against Flow of PLO Funds"]

[Text] The local authorities and public institutions in the West Bank continue to receive large sums of money from outside the country. Security forces are investigating to determine the source of the funds in order to ascertain if the "cornucopia" is from the PLO.

The military government is required to provide the vital services for the Arab population within the framework of the encumbering budgetary constraints. However, personalities in the Arab population have long understood that the Israeli [military] government would not be able to bear the financial burden for a long period of time. Therefore, the mayors have initiated development plans which have been submitted to the government both for authorization and for funding.

The military government has been mired in difficulties. From its entire budget, only crumbs have been left for purposes of development. Most of the money has been designated for current expenses. A reexamination has revealed a shocking distortion in the budget structure. On the one hand, the military government funds the entire educational system, and it allocates more than one-half of its funds for this purpose. On the other hand, it has no allocation even for the repair of the water system in one of the neighborhoods in Jericho, and it does not have 50,000 shekels for the procurement of a medical device for the hospital in Shekhem.

This distortion of reality which was disclosed already during the first year of Israel's presence in the West Bank exists today in the military government.

The expression "impoverished government" is commonly used by mayors and dignitaries. This gap between the requirements and the budgetary limitations has been discussed many times in various forums and especially in the Directors-General Committee for the Administered Territories. The demands for development funds have continued to increase with the passage of time, however the means available to the military government have remained limited.

The pressures from one side and the limitations from the other have created a situation, the severity of which cannot be estimated. Two mayors made the following argument to a senior official in the military government: "If you are unable to fund the vital development plans for our cities, give us permission to collect money from Arab sources."

The immediate reaction of the military government was: absolutely not. The explanation given was that conducting private campaigns would damage Israel's image in the world and would create a situation in which there would be affluent cities and poor ones, local authorities aided by outside sources and ones aided only by the military government.

However, this negative response did not last long. It dissolved against the background of disagreements on the political and security levels in this issue. This dispute has involved various considerations. For some time now there has been talk about moderates and extremists among the West Bank leaders, and the question was raised: Why shouldn't we do something good for the moderates among them and permit them to collect funds from outside the country, and in this way they would be able to strengthen their status in their cities?

Confusion in the Government and the Towns

This approach has permitted "unidentified" mayors to benefit from a windfall. It has also encouraged sycophancy and the mushrooming of all kinds of methods of transferring money from Arab countries to the West Bank.

The confusion in the military government on this issue has increased with the passing of the years, and it has been dominant in the towns. One person claimed that he was able to collect money for his city among "Ram Allah expatriots" circles in the oil principalities. Another person claimed that he received a "grant" from the ruler of Kuwait. Later it became known that during the course of his visit in this principality, he was joined by a PLO man. The Jordanian government, which has acted wisely and quietly, drew out the "aid whip" for all to see and dictated conditions to those who wanted assistance.

When Ezer Weizman was serving as the minister of defense, guidance was given to the effect that the money coming from Arab countries was designated for the building of a school and the paving of roads, and not for the manufacture of explosives, there was no reason to prevent the mayors from collecting money for their cities.

The mayors were thus given a "free hand," and they began to tour Arab countries for fund-raising purposes. The campaigns were so successful that Jordan became concerned about its status in the West Bank. It therefore initiated a counter move: the establishment of a joint committee with the PLO to provide financial aid to the local authorities and public institutions in the administered territories.

This committee, which as of today is working under conditions of mutual suspicion and divisiveness among Arab mayors and dignitaries in the West Bank, is guided by several principles acceptable to both the PLO leadership and the Jordanian authorities:

*Guarantee of the status of East Jerusalem as the capital of the West Bank.

*Limitation of the number of Arab workers employed in Israel.

*Halting of the emigration of Arabs from the administered territories.

*Guarantee of the independence of the local authorities and the religious institutions in East Jerusalem and the West Bank.

Besides these principles, there are attempts by both the PLO and Jordan to leave their mark by means of the money, most of which comes from the oil principalities. However, money is pouring into the West Bank from various Arab sources who do not want to be associated with the joint Jordan-PLO committee. The contributors are interested in giving the money to a certain mayor or specific project.

With the institution of the "strong arm" policy in the West Bank, a new instruction has been issued: the introduction of money from the PLO is not permissible. Security elements note that they are able to determine the source of every significant sum of money transferred to the region.

The mayors, who have become accustomed to generous development allocations as a result of the foreign fund-raising campaigns, have not reconciled themselves to this. The mayors claim that the PLO is now involved in every matter related to the Arabs of the administered territories, and there is no Arab entity interested in functioning as its substitute. The military government is disturbed by this issue because it has become accustomed to not being concerned about development plans.

The security elements recognize the difficulties. However, they believe that the situation which had prevailed until a few months ago bordered on anarchy, and they want to put a stop to it.

5830

CSO: 4805

SOLDIERS ADMIT MISDEEDS IN WEST BANK VILLAGE

TA130752 Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 17 Dec 80 p 1

[Report by David Richardson: "Soldiers Admit to Charges of Curfew Wrongdoings"]

[Text] A number of soldiers have confessed to abusing residents and stealing valuables in the West Bank village of Silwad during the curfew 10 days ago, a military spokesman confirmed last night. Earlier it was announced that investigators had verified some of the villagers' complaints.

Officers from units active in Silwad during the curfew were debriefed yesterday at Ramallah military government headquarters by West Bank military Commander Brig Gen Benjamin Ben-Eli'ezer, the commander of the central command Maj Gen Moshe Levi and other top IDF officers. After the session, it was apparently decided to issue more stringent orders governing the behaviour of soldiers during curfews and searches in the administered territories.

Residents of the village complained to the JERUSALEM POST and other newspapers last week that soldiers had destroyed food and furniture, assaulted some of the younger villagers and stolen money during the course of house-to-house searches in the village between December 4 and 6.

The village was under curfew following the murder of a local resident, who was named on Amman Radio as a collaborator with the military authorities. It was the third such political assassination this year.

One resident filed a complaint last week with Ramallah police alleging that money had been stolen from her in the course of a search of her house. One soldier was detained last weekend in connection with this complaint.

Earlier in the week, another six complaints were filed with the military government about alleged irregularities by the soldiers, said to have been a unit of paratroopers.

Military sources at first tended to dismiss queries about the allegations as "exaggerated and probably unfounded."

CSO: 4820

COURT TO BE ESTABLISHED FOR WEST BANK SETTLERS

TA161818 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 16 Dec 80

[From evening newsreel]

[Text] An urban court for the Jewish residents of Judea and Samaria will begin operating in another 2 months. A magistrate will preside over the court. Avraham Ben-Melekh has learned that the Judea and Samaria command, in coordination with the ministries concerned, has drawn up a special order under which the court will operate.

[Begin Ben-Melekh recording] The first Jewish urban court in the territories will likely be situated in Qiryat Arba'. This court will have the power, for instance, to send people to jail for up to 3 months. Since Israeli law is not in effect in the territories, the court will operate by a special order, which the regional command has drawn up, according to special operating regulations.

In the first stage the court will deal mainly with matters relating to taxation, sanitation, planning, construction and supervision of the settlements' master plans. The court will give the Jewish regional councils the legal ability to impose their bylaws, to cope with criminals and to consolidate public life in the settlements. At present, they are unable to do this, and in fact there is now nothing to prevent any Jewish resident in the territories to do whatever he pleases in a settlement.

All the Jewish local authorities will defray the costs of the court; they will also finance the salary of the magistrate. At first, the Jews in Samaria will have to go to Qiryat Arba'. Later, a special court for the Samaria settlements will also be established. In a subsequent stage, a district appeals court will be set up. As far as is known, such a court will also be established in the Gaza District.

The preparations for the activation of the first Jewish court were made secretly and have almost been completed. The only thing being awaited is the regional commander's signature. [end recording]

CSO: 4805

PRESS ANALYZES BAN OF FOREIGN PRESS COVERAGE IN WEST BANK

TA161141 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ i: Hebrew 16 Dec 80 p 9

[Commentary by Eliyahu Salpeter: "Closed Area—Open to Argument"]

[Text] The military government's decision not to permit journalists to enter the West Bank towns where student rioting is occurring gained Israel a great deal of criticism by the Western press. The NEW YORK TIMES explained to its readers that the military government wanted to prevent the press from reporting the wave of anti-Israeli demonstrations. The CBS Broadcasting Network reported the arrest of two members of the coverage team and the confiscation of filmed footage. LE MONDE reported moves against a UPI corresponding and commented that the military government's opposition contradicts the announcement by the civil authorities, who claim that there has been no change in the status of journalists in the territories.

The Foreign Press Association protested these moves and published an announcement saying that "promises made by defense ministers about freedom of approach by the foreign press to new events in the West Bank are being broken wholesale by the military government."

The great publicity given to the affair did not, of course, contribute to Israel's positive image in the world. We must ask what, in this case, caused greater damage: what the military government did or how it did it?

The military government claims that the appearance of television crews provokes the demonstrators into increasing the breaches of the peace in order to supply the cameramen with propaganda material serving the PLO abroad. In their reports, foreign journalists treat this claim with scorn. Neither side, it appears, has clean hands in this affair. There have been graver riots in the territories in the past, but when the military government had a genuine ruler, it was not the custom to expel foreign journalists, and certainly not wholesale. Therefore we may believe the complaints of the foreign journalists, that the military government is now less tolerant toward criticism and wants to prevent coverage of inconvenient, unpleasant events.

However, there is no doubt that there are serious foundations for the military government's claims that the appearance of television cameras encourages the demonstrators. Furthermore, it is doubtful if there is a single foreign correspondent in Jerusalem who does not know Raymonda at-Tawil and her Jewish friend

[presumably Felician Langer] who in fact maintain a sort of Palestinian Arab liaison office. The foreign journalists have more than once received advance notice that "something is going to happen" in one of the West Bank towns and when the television cameras arrive--they are guaranteed something to shoot. And so, a single closeup of a burning tire fills the screen like a large incendiary bomb....

This is not something fabricated in the old city of Jerusalem: Most of the "liberation movements" have learned from the communists and leftists of all varieties and how to use, not only the freedom of the press, but the free press in democratic countries, to disseminate their propaganda. And if the U.S. and Western European television cameramen are now complaining about being forbidden to shoot the dispersal of a demonstration in Hebron or Bi'r Zayt, it would be worth reminding them of the great services they and their colleagues supplied, for example, to Khomeyni and the "revolutionary students" by showing the taking-over of the U.S. Embassy and the imprisonment of the hostages. The problem was discussed at length at the time, both in the general press and in communications media professional papers and not much doubt remained that the television camera--particularly on such occasions--is not just a passive spectator in what occurs, but becomes an active factor in the political propaganda exercise.

From this it follows that if the military government has good, sincere intentions in banning the entry of cameras to rioting areas, it could achieve this objective by restricting the ban only to the entry of television cameras. The correspondents, including television correspondents, would be allowed to be present, to see, hear and report--even in a broadcast in front of the camera. In this way, the claim that the purpose of the ban is to prevent coverage of the event would be undermined. It may be assumed that there will be some journalists who will, because of anger, exaggerate what they tell the television viewers. But if we wish to eliminate the spurring-on factor of television cameras, this is a price it may be worth paying.

Except that a decision on this issue--like most of the issues of principal involving the military government--cannot be made by military government officers. Even in more ordered times, the IDF and the military government had a different--and more restricted--set of considerations than those of the political echelons. The IDF and the military government want, first of all, to guarantee calm in the territories and preserve their own positive image among the Israeli public. Concern for Israel's positive image abroad is, at best, secondary, today. When the government's control is collapsing in every sphere, the journalists play an increasingly large role in civilian control over the military establishment and, in this context--supervision over what occurs and does not occur in the territories.

It would not be practical, nor would it be desirable from the aspect of publicity, to make a distinction between the Israeli journalists and the foreigners in what concerns the coverage of military government actions. Therefore, there is no choice but to permit foreign journalists to move freely in the territories, even when demonstrations or rioting are occurring there. However, if the television camera encourages the riots--and, as stated, there is a great deal of truth in this claim--then an "Israeli" camera does this no less than does a foreign one. It would, therefore, be worthwhile making a distinction between television cameramen and journalists, whether foreign or local.

The consideration of what serves the national interest better--more rapid calming of a demonstration or concern for publicity--must, in each and every case, be placed in the hands of the political echelons and the decision should be implemented by members of liaison units and spokesmen who are specialists in relations with the press. Maintaining the level of these forces is one of the defense minister's tasks and must be no less under his control than what occurs in tank-repair shops or in the command of the military police.

The ideology that says that "we must stop playing at being beautiful people" is no substitute for maintaining the level of maintenance and supervision over the behavior of commanders and troops--or for a knowledge of how to conduct Israel's publicity on IDF issues.

CSO: 4805

GUSH ETZYON SETTLEMENTS ENCROACH ON ARAB LAND

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 21 Oct 80 pp 11, 14

[Article by Yehudah Litani: "In Beit Askariya Arabs Feel Like Island Among Settlements; The Thorn in Gush Etzion's Side"]

[Text] Beit Askariya, a cluster of Arab houses "stuck" in the heart of Gush Etzion, between kibbutz Rosh Tzurim in the north and regional center Alon Sh'vut in the south. Beit Askariya is not a village, and can barely pass for a hamlet, but it is an exception in the West Bank. Generally the settlements find themselves to be an island surrounded by Arab villages, but in Beit Askariya the Arabs feel like an island surrounded by settlements. Moreover, they see themselves as a salami sliced at both ends: they are eaten in the north by Rosh Tzurim and in the south by Alon Sh'vut. The members of the village, also known as Hirbat Zakharia, belong to one family--the family of Ibrahim Atallah, his three sons and their families. The family once belonged to the village of Artas near Bethlehem, which borders on Beit Askariya.

One of Gush Etzion's old-timers recalls how prior to 1948 the local settlers enjoyed good relations with the village, while Ibrahim Atallah points to a scar on his left leg which, he says, is the result of a wound he received by being shot at by a Jordanian soldier when he tried to defend his Jewish neighbors during the Jordanian takeover. That same old-timer doubts Ibrahim's story. Ibrahim also mentions how three defenders of the Gush found shelter in his home on their way back to Jewish Jerusalem. I spoke to one of the three, who did not corroborate Ibrahim's story. "No one in the neighboring villages offered to help us," the 1948 fighter, today a senior officer in the IDF, stated.

In either case, the rebuilding of Gush Etzion shortly after the Six-Day war put an end to Ibrahim Atallah's isolation. The members of kibbutz Rosh Tzurim say that the land which Ibrahim cultivates near their kibbutz used to belong to Jews, and as proof they show old maps and air photos dating back to the pre-1948 era. I visited the place most recently 6 years ago, and I was astounded when I saw how Ibrahim's lands receded almost to his doorstep. Parcel by parcel was taken over by the kibbutz, which is known as one of the least militant settlements in the West Bank.

The Relations Were Good

Ibrahim Atallah--a character out of a British film of Lawrence of Arabia--has a pointed grey beard, an oversize grey 'abayah, Kufiyah and 'iqal, and the look of a

wise man who knows how to stay out of trouble. He has documents which show that his lands belonged to his family as far back as the British Mandate and the Turkish rule. He says that he used to have good relations with the kibbutz, but he is no longer on speaking terms with his Jewish neighbors because they had caused him to spend 10 days in jail on a suspicion that he had uprooted the trees of a nearby settlement.

"I wouldn't do such things," says Ibrahim Atallah, "and indeed they were not able to prove anything. We can only rely on Allah," continues the Arab scholar who got stuck between the two settlements. "They don't let me cultivate my land on the other side of the road." The land on which the center named after the late Moshe Hayim Shapiro was built also belongs to him, says Ibrahim. He admits that his life was changed by the settlements. Until 1967 water had to be brought in by tankers. Now his home has been connected to the settlements' water line.

"They even tried to subvert my water line," Ibrahim continues. "One day I found out my water meter was dismantled and the settlers told me I could no longer use the water." But Ibrahim Atallah does not rely only on God and so he went to see the mayor of Bethlehem, Elias Faraj, who arranged for reconnecting his water line. He also asked his lawyer, Elias Huri, to contact the military governor on this matter.

At the moment there is an injunction of the court which forbids the cultivation of a certain parcel of land to which Ibrahim claims ownership while the settlers argue that they bought it legally from another party who was the legal owner. Ibrahim maintains that they bought it from a man who has no legal claim to it. The settlers insist the deal is legitimate and wish to continue cultivating the land. Ibrahim's son relates he was removed from another parcel by the military administration while being threatened with a weapon.

"You journalists are neglecting us," a farmer who joined the conversation said. "Did you know a few months ago a fight broke out between farmers from Nahlin and settlers who wanted to build a road through their fields over there in the wadi (he points at the wadi below Ibrahim Atallah's home)? The Nahlin farmers," he goes on, "said that the settlers will build the road on their dead bodies, and they started attacking each other. In general," the farmer says, "we have many fights here, which the military government and the police never find out about. Not to mention the press and the rest of the media."

He describes the situation in Gush Etzion as a "settlers' peace." "In other words," he says, "they do what they feel like doing. They refer to private land as public land or stony land, and they take over. They build roads to their land through our land. They walk around armed and think might is right. When they are ready for an operation like plowing or building a new road, they bring over the military administration who threatens us and forces us to leave our land."

A short investigation with the security people shows that this farmer tends to exaggerate, but there is still a grain of truth in his words. A few months ago a fight which bordered on violence did break out between the settlers and the farmers of Nahlin. Land disputes have taken place for the past 12 years. The security people say that the Arab farmers blow up these incidents beyond all proportion.

Reparations? Absolutely not!

But Ibrahim Atallah's case is quite tangible. I recall how his land looked 6 years ago and I see it now. The reduction is obvious. He scratches the ground with his black rubber shoes and tells me with a shy smile he now has less than 10 dunams. "Once I had a great deal more. I am now practically destitute, and I have to support my family and my three sons' families."

Ibrahim Atallah says he has no political motives or views. Through his facade of indifference one begins to detect a sympathy for Jordan. He mentions well-known pro-Jordanian political activists who would help him, and hopes things will revert back to 1967, namely, to Jordanian rule. What about a Palestinian state? "I am not a political expert," Ibrahim Atallah plays innocent. "A Palestinian state? A Palestinian-Jordanian state? What do I know? I am a farmer, and all I want is to have my lands back." He looks at his yard, at the two grazing cows, the dog barking nervously at every stranger, the grapevines, the fig trees, and he tells me he hopes some day peace will arrive and one nation will not rule the other.

"You see up there?" he says and points at a group of houses built at Alon Sh'yut in recent years. "This is land which was taken from the mukhtar of the village of Artas. Down there is my land, which 9 years ago they invaded with tractors and overran the harvest. Sit down, what's your rush?" he asks and forces me to sit on his porch, facing the wadi between the two settlements, revealing a pastoral view, and offers me coffee and grapes. "These are the last grapes left on the vines," he apologizes. "That's why they are so small."

In late 1972 Ibrahim Atallah published an open letter in the local Arab press which was intended for the then minister of defense, Moshe Dayan. He wrote that early in the morning the bulldozers invaded his land and destroyed the crops. He wrote that 21 people, including babies, depended on those crops for their subsistence, and did not know what they were going to do. His letter prompted the well-known poetess Fadwa Tuqan to write a poem, which stated:

...In the name of the babies I ask you
Give me back my land
Which is my sustenance.
Oh general,
The sustenance of the babies
I request.
Give me back my land
I absolutely refuse
To receive reparations for it...

"Why do you refuse to receive reparations?" I ask Ibrahim Atallah. His face becomes hardened and impenetrable. His answer sounded like a quotation from Tuqan's poem: "Under no circumstances, absolutely not. They can take it by force. But to sell? To receive reparations? I never agreed to it and I never will. This is my land. My fathers' land. You can't sell it or receive money for it. If they take everything I still have Allah who will provide."

I forgot to mention that the Arabs call the place Beit Askariya because they believe the prophet Zecharia is buried there. One of the houses in the village marks his grave. The Jews disagree. They maintain that Zecharia is buried a good few miles north of there. The two sides disagree not only in what concerns the present, but also the distant past.

9565
CSO: 4805

ISRAELI COMMENTATOR WANTS GOLAN INITIATIVE FROZEN

TA161305 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 16 Dec 80 p 9

(Commentary by Daniyal Block: "The Initiative for the Imposition of Israeli Law on the Golan Heights Must Be Frozen")

(Text) The resolution by the Council of the United Kibbutz Movement expressing support for the imposition of Israeli law on the Golan Heights says that the date for the parliamentary initiative will be decided by the Labor Party institutions. It is to be hoped that political wisdom will guide the party to freeze the initiative for a very long period and that the Knesset faction and Knesset members from the kibbutz movement will not be dragged behind Ge'ula Kohen, (initiator of the Jerusalem bill) nor will they fall into the trap the Likud, in its weakness, is setting for them, as happened with the Jerusalem law.

There is no doubt that the kibbutz movement has a genuine desire to strengthen, consolidate and fortify the pioneering, security settlement on the Golan Heights. This desire is based on broad support from the public in Israel, which gives the Golan Heights supreme preference in a national consensus, to which only Jerusalem comes second. Our security claim to the Golan Heights is one of the strongest. It is accepted with understanding by anyone who sees both the situation in the field and the vital need to control the Golan Heights for the defense of the north of Israel and the country's water sources.

However, a Knesset law on this issue would not serve any vital objective, it would only awaken bears from their sleep and harm any Israeli publicity or political effort aimed at gaining security borders. Any timing would be terrible for legislation for the annexation of the Golan Heights, but at the moment the timing is particularly terrible: today there are processes of splitting in the rejectionist front and the eastern front against us. There is a certain devaluation in the status of the PLO. At such a time, Israel has no interest in providing an excuse to mend the rifts, reinforce the status of the ruler of Syria and of the PLO and perhaps improve relations between Amman and Damascus. By doing so, we might also provide al-Asad with an excuse to evacuate his forces from other fronts and move them to the Golan Heights, on the pretext that Israel is taking a unilateral step violating the agreement about the separation of the Golan Heights.

If legislation were to contribute anything significant to strengthening our position in the Golan Heights, perhaps it would be worth passing the law, despite the

political and publicity damage and the risk of war. But, like the Jerusalem law, a Golan Heights law per se would not provide us with a single extra brick, furrow or even a settler. Its damage is certain, its benefit is doubtful.

Let us for a moment assume that the Knesset had legislated a law several years ago annexing the Rafah approaches, Yamit and Ofira. Would this law have prevented the peace agreement being signed with Egypt, including the evacuation of those settlements? That same massive majority that supported the peace agreement would also have supported the cancellation of the law. Perhaps the process of making the decision would have lasted for another few days, but the final result would have been the same, whether the law had existed or not. Neither the Jerusalem law nor a Golan Heights law can prevent negotiations over their future, if the other party demands this. At most, it would make the formal process of Knesset approval for the agreements somewhat more complicated, if the government reached the conclusion that, for the sake of peace, there was a point to making symbolic concessions in Jerusalem and the Golan Heights.

It should be recalled that Israel has not the slightest iota of a legal claim, from the aspect of international law, over the Golan Heights and this is in contrast to the existing claim agreed upon by at least some of the experts, with regard to east Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The Golan Heights is on the Syrian side of the international border. In 1967 the Government of Israel was willing to make peace with Syria on the basis of the international border and it was after the Arab refusal that the settlement campaign began in the Golan Heights.

In peace negotiations, Israel should fight for the Golan Heights to remain in its possession, partially or in its entirety, and see to suitable security arrangements also based on settlement, to prevent the Golan Heights from again becoming a Syrian military base. A unilateral legal move for the annexation of the Golan Heights would only force the Arab side, in advance, to insist upon its return as a condition for any peace agreement, just as the Rafah approaches farmers forced al-Sadat to oppose any compromise over the settlements or airfields.

Our ability to hold on to areas essential for our security and existence in the Golan Heights and the Jordan rift valley depends on many factors: our economic independence, our domestic social strength, our power to stand firm against external pressure, our ability to recruit Jewish and other public opinion in the United States and Europe and the degree of internal conviction by the decisive majority of the public of the rightness of our position. Passing a Golan Heights law similar to the Jerusalem law would contribute nothing to even one of the above. On the contrary, it would even undermine the support for our justified position among Jewish and non-Jewish friends.

EBAN PROPOSES NEW TERRITORIAL AGREEMENT

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 19 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by Moshe Meisels: "At Labor Party's Platform Committee, Abba Eban Proposes New Term: 'Territorial Agreement;' Instead of 'Territorial Compromise;' Permanent Border with Syria to Cross Golan Heights according to Negotiated Agreement; 'Strive for Peace with Jordanian-Palestinian State'"]

[Text] At session of Labor party's platform committee headed by Israel Galili, the doves supported a general principles platform while the hawks demanded a detailed platform.

Knesset Member Abba Eban presented principles for the platform. He demanded to change the term "territorial compromise" and substitute instead "territorial agreement," a recognized term in international law. He proposed that in negotiations with Syria and Jordan, Israel be prepared to discuss agreements which will bring peace in stages, starting with the ending of the state of war. The permanent border between Israel and Syria will run through the Golan Heights according to a negotiated agreement. Israel should strive for peace with a Jordanian-Palestinian state, based on territorial agreement which will provide Israel with defensible borders, the rule of a Jordanian-Palestinian state over dense centers of Arab population, and the preservation of the Jewish character of the State of Israel. Such peace requires the resolution of the Palestinian problem in all its aspects and the Palestinians must participate in defining their future through negotiations attended by their elected representatives, Eban stated.

Moshe Karmel argued that the main basis for the platform should be the platform for the previous elections. He does not see any substantive changes in the platform. The nuclear threat in the region should be taken into consideration, Karmel added.

Knesset Member Z'ev Katz demanded a detailed platform. He argued that if the platform is limited to general principles it will not solve the territorial, strategic, and settlement problems.

Israel Gut stated he opposed a Palestinian state, but supports self-determination for the Palestinians, which should not be confused with the term self-rule, which is worthless.

Hayim Rimon also supported the term self-determination for the Palestinians. Asher Meniv demanded general principles in the platform, which can be used in future negotiations, while Yosef N'vo insisted on spelling out the principles.

At the end of the session a heated argument started between Professor Z'ev Sternhal who claimed that there was no difference between a territory held by the IDF and one in which both the IDF and settlements are present, from a security standpoint, and Ariq Nehemqin, who maintained that there is a great difference in motivation between the two when it comes to security considerations.

The Yahdav circle (which support Shim'on Peres), which convened at the end of the week under the chairmanship of the Tel Aviv district of the Labor party's secretary, Member of Knesset Eliyahu Speiser, decided that Peres has to clearly announce his readiness to accept the challenge to his candidacy at the convention; that the party decide on the terms of the contest; and that the ratio of representation not be tampered with after the contest.

The meeting, which included Knesset members Yehozqeil Zakay, Tamar Eshel, and Yehoshua Hayaz, Secretary of Tel Aviv Workers' council Dov ben Meir, Aharon Barak, Masha Lubitski, Rina Dotan, Hayim Rimon, Dov Tabort and others, resulted in a decision not to rule out any candidate who has a right to a position because of personality, personal activities, or geographical location.

The party's Jerusalem district's secretary, Member of Knesset Uri Bar'am, a supporter of Peres, said at the end of the week that he did not rule out the possibility of including Yitzhak Rabin in the Labor's senior team and as member of the next government. Rabin's public popularity should be used in the interest of the party, he added.

The Alignment chairman, Member of Knesset Moshe Shahal (also a Rabin supporter), said that Rabin has put in question the choice of Shim'on Peres as the elected candidate, and as long as this is the case, Peres' candidacy should be determined by a large majority and in a definitive and unequivocal way.

Meritaria Party Yosef N'vo, a Rabin supporter, said that the contest was a democratic way of reaching a decision, provided that everyone accepted the decision of the convention.

MAPAI's general secretary, Victor Shentov, said that the contest has become a fact. He sees hints of a split in some of the statements, which can spell disaster for the Labor movement.

MSK
OCT 1 1968

LAND PURCHASED TO EXPAND JUDAEA, SAMARIA SETTLEMENTS

TA151636 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHOU' in Hebrew 15 Dec 80 p 2

[Report by Jerusalem correspondent Mordekhay Basok: "Thousands of Dunams of Expropriated Land Have Been Added to Settlements in Judaea and Samaria"]

[Excerpt] The Israel Land Administration and the Jewish National Fund have purchased thousands of dunams of land in the past few months for six Jewish settlements in Judaea and Samaria. Some of the land acquired has been registered in the land registry books. The murder of the two Arabs in Silwan near Jerusalem recently is also connected to sale of land.

The purchase of land is being conducted under a cloak of secrecy, out of fear for the lives of the Arab brokers. The land purchased is scrub, of no agricultural value. It is being sold at exorbitant prices, much beyond its real value. The Arab brokers justified the high price, saying that the sellers feared for their lives.

In the meantime, the Qiriyat Arba' land problem has been solved. The settlement will shortly receive thousands of dunams, not all of it as one continuous piece of land. The land in question is Miri land (terr from period of Ottoman rule meaning state-owned land). The Israeli Government, through the military government, has recently declared its ownership of the land. Yesterday it was learned that Arab villagers west of (Shalalda), in the neighborhood of al-Sharah, north of Qiriyat Arba' complained that 1,000 dunams of Miri land in their area were declared as belonging to the Qiriyat Arba' planning region. As is the custom, they were given three weeks to submit their appeal to the High Court of Justice. If they do so, their appeal will be transferred to the military government board of appeals, as was the case with Giv'at HaHersina. In that particular case the petition was rejected, and scores of apartments for Qiriyat Arba' settlers are now being constructed there. Qiriyat Arba' settlers told our correspondent that "the dog does not bark when it has no complaints."

The land problem has been similarly resolved in Ari'el, although the quantity of land added there was much more modest.

A senior source in the Jewish settlements council said, that, nevertheless, in numerous settlements such as Ma'ale, Dary Boron, Shave Shouron and Tapu'ah the land problems have not been solved yet. In Qedumim the problems were only partially solved. The Elon Moreh settlement on Mount Kabir also faces land problems.

Uri Ari'el one of the "Amana" leaders (a Gush Emunim settlement movement), said yesterday that there has been considerable land buying activity in the territories. He said that this refers to both official bodies such as the Jewish National Fund and the Israel Land Authority, and to private individuals. According to him, the "Amana" movement does not purchase any land itself, although it encourages others to do so. He added that his movement did not accept the prime minister's statement that only another 10 settlements would go up in the territories before the autonomy was established. "We have told the prime minister and the agriculture minister that this position is completely unacceptable to us." According to Uri Ari'el, "Amana" will put up settlements according to its ability and according to what it considers to be state needs.

He did not rule out the possibility that a new settlement would be established on the Rujays land, where Elon Moreh used to be located. It should be recalled that the state purchased dozens of dunams there. According to Ari'el, "Amana" will put settlers there "if there are enough lands and other possibilities there." He declined to explain the meaning of the term "other possibilities."

It was also learned yesterday that the Israel Land Administration would like to establish a neighborhood of villas and high-rises in an-Nabi Sami'il, 2 km away from the Jerusalem Ramot neighborhood. On this site there are some 500 dunams of private land that belong to Jews and that were purchased some 30 years ago. The Israel Land Administration will submit the settlement plan for approval by the Judea and Samaria military government headquarters. The plan also encompasses public institutions such as schools, an infirmary, etc.

The minister in charge of the Israel Land Administration is Agriculture Minister Ari'el Sharon.

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VALIDITY OF JORDANIAN OPTION QUESTIONED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 8 Oct 80 p 5

[Editorial: "The Jordanian Option"]

[Text] Of all the Arab countries, Jordan is the only one which has not been satisfied with the expression of verbal support in the Iraqi war against Iran but instead has made available to Baghdad air bases, port facilities, and roads in order to permit the Iraqi air force to find a haven for its expensive aircraft and the Soviets to expedite supplies to the Iraqi forces.

For Rabat 'Amman this has involved a substantive political turnabout because in recent years it has been tied to Syria, Iraq's old enemy, without severing completely its traditional ties to the western powers. Now Jordan has turned its back both on Damascus and Washington and has been backing a country which is one of the most extreme in the Arab rejectionist front.

The question confronting Israel is whether or not, in light of the position which King Husayn has taken in the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, the "Jordanian option" is still open? Is it possible to continue to base a political doctrine on the assumption that if the government of Israel is changed and the Alignment comes to power it would be appropriate to invite King Husayn to join the peace negotiations in the firm hope that he would not only respond affirmatively but would be prepared to agree to a territorial compromise?

The Alignment is preparing for the elections with a program based on this expectation. It circumvents with various explanations the repeated statements of the king of Jordan that he is opposed both to the Camp David Agreements and the territorial compromise formula. The Alignment believes that Jordan is playing a double game, and while it declares it has no interest in negotiating with Israel, it continues nevertheless to show an open and active interest in what is happening in Judea and Samaria. This means that it continues to be a possible partner in the talks with Israel.

Is this assumption still valid? After Jordan's joining the most extreme camp in the Arab world, is it possible to determine that this in sum is a tactic and that Husayn is still prepared to abandon his new allies in order to join al-Sadat in an effort to achieve a comprehensive peace with Israel?

The hope at this time appears to be completely unrealistic, and the ideologues of the Labor Party who reject the autonomy plan because of the prospect of reaching an agreement on a territorial compromise with Husayn must reassess their political platform in light of the new orientation which Jordan has chosen.

NEGEV BEDOUINS COMPLAIN OF 'BLACK GOAT' LAW

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 19 Oct 80 p 10

[Article by Dr Yitzhaq Bailli: "The Black Goat Law"]

[Text] The economic and cultural existence of the approximate 100 Bedouin sheep-herding families in the Negev mountains is in immediate danger. On 9 October, the green patrol of the Ministry of Agriculture began to seize the flocks of black goats of these Bedouins and sell them for slaughter.

The legal basis for this operation is the plant protection law (goat damages), called the "Black Goat Law" adopted in 1950 but never enforced. According to this law, a person can raise goats "only in the land areas belonging to him," however, the Bedouins of the Negev mountains have only small land areas, which they use in the winter for growing wheat for their bread. Nevertheless, the Bedouins of the Negev mountains, like their forebears are accustomed to finding a natural pasture for their flocks in the desert spaces outside their plots of land.

Senior Israeli ecologists concerned with the wilderness describe the Black Goat Law and the concept of the "destructive goat" on which it is based as antiquated. In a letter to the JERUSALEM POST (15 Aug 1978) Professors Mikhael Even-Ari and Emanuel Noi-Meir of Jerusalem and Ze'ev Naveh of the Technion made the following points for the protection of the black goat:

*A goat which consumes shrubbery does not kill it but prunes it. The shrubs can still grow, blossom, and multiply even with the constant presence of goats in the area.

*The grazing of the goats prevents the shrubs and trees from taking over the entire area and pushing out and destroying the herbaceous plants, including useful grazing grasses and beautiful wild flowers, and also the various kinds of wildlife and birds which need open areas and grassy vegetation. As such, the black goat plays a role in the preservation of the balance and variety in nature.

*The black goat is well able to exist in hot mountainous regions with shrubbery vegetation. It produces milk and meat primarily with wooden and thorny plants which have no other economic use. The meat and milk produced by the black goats in the pasture cost the national economy less imported fodder and less foreign currency than any other kind of protein from a living thing which we can produce or import.

Although the ecologists warned of the danger of overgrazing (a situation in which the number of goats in a certain area is too large and causes too much consumption of the vegetation in that area), they concluded that "the problem is not how to get rid of the black goat but rather how to protect it in a controlled framework in order to prevent overgrazing."

In accordance with these points, Dr Moshe Sharon, the then prime minister's advisor on Arab affairs, made "proposals for the controlled raising of sheep of Bedouins in the Negev" (Document 66.0-4, Office of the Prime Minister, 4 September 1978). According to these suggestions, 1000 families throughout the Negev would be permitted to raise 80 goats each. It was also decided that the state would make pasturelands available to these Bedouins and provide them water at a fee. Supervision of the implementation was assigned, according to the proposals, to the inspectors of the green patrol.

These proposals of Dr Sharon were not implemented because of the opposition of the Ministry of Agriculture. Nevertheless, they recognized the fact that "maintenance of the traditional way of life which is based on sheep raising is still important to many Bedouins."

It is especially important to Bedouins who are serving as scouts in the IDF--Bedouins whose life experience in "the territory" prepares them for scouting. In the entire Negev mountains there is virtually no family whose sons have not served the IDF. Among them are also IDF disabled. The only request of these Bedouins to the state for 30 years has been to permit them to live in accordance with their traditions.

In the last 3 years, this sole request was not satisfied and has led to frustration. First, a large part of the Negev mountains (about 1,500 square kilometers) was declared a nature preserve. The Bedouins who were living in this area were removed by the green patrol. As a result of the peace agreement with Egypt, broad firing ranges of the IDF, most of which have not been used since 1967, are again required for training within the framework of the withdrawal from Sinai. From what remains in the Negev mountains, the best of the pasturelands of the Bedouins (about 20,000 dunams) were given to the Sede Boqer kibbutz which decided to raise a flock of 200 sheep--and the flocks of the Bedouins were prevented from entering these areas by kilometers of barbed wire fences which were provided by the Jewish Agency.

Finally, after the 100 Bedouin families in the Negev mountains found corners in the desert which were not declared nature preserves, training areas, or new lands for Sede Boqer, the green patrol came, and this time on behalf of the Israel Lands Administration, to inform them that they were on state lands and that they had to leave the area.

The Bedouins appealed therefore to the courts which issued an injunction prohibiting the green patrol from removing them until their demands were heard in court. However, the Bedouins' rest was short-lived because now the green patrol had begun to seize their flocks of goats under the authority of the Black Goat Law.

The Bedouins in the Negev mountains are not claiming ownership over broad areas. Their demands for the most part are for small sections, those which their fathers worked in remote wadis. Nevertheless, they regard the Negev mountains as their home in the broader sense, just as a Tel Avivian considers himself a resident of the entire city.

In the past the Negev mountains were the tribal area of the Bedouins and they enjoyed free access to all the pasturelands and water sources there. European researchers who visited the Negev mountains in the 19th century left behind incisive evidence of the presence of Bedouins of those tribes there.

For example, in 1835, Edward Robinson from the United States visited them in the Negev mountains "between Wadi 'Arava and Hatiya of the Sinai." In 1869, the British orientalist Professor Palmer found them in En'Aqev and in Nahal Zin, and the Czech researcher Alois Mosil met with them in 1897 on Ramat Mitrad and next to 'Avedat.

Today the 100 shepherd families in the Negev mountains are not seeking ownership over the entire tribal area which was available to their fathers and even not an approach to this entire area. Also, as citizens who have always supported the defense of the state, they are not disputing its current defense requirements. All they are asking is to remain in the region, which they know and which is holy to them because it is the burial ground of their fathers to whom they offer sacrifices and seek blessing.

In 1977, I proposed to the Nature Preservation Authority to integrate 40 families (only!) as nomads in the Negev mountains preserve (about 1,500 square kilometers) where their flocks would be limited in number and under effective supervision. However, this proposal was rejected incidentally through the decision that "nomads and nature preserves do not go together." The fact that Bedouins who still maintain an almost biblical way of life represent an educational asset sought after by students, researchers, soldiers, and visitors from abroad, did not dissolve the opposition of the Nature Preservation Authority.

An additional solution is being discussed now in contacts between the Civil Rights Association in Israel and members of the Ben-Meir Committee responsible for the settlement of Bedouins in the Negev. According to the plan submitted by the Association, a village for about 100 families who tend their flocks in the Negev mountains themselves will be established, and they will raise sheep there for meat and milk. For 6 months, the Bedouins will feed their flocks with provided food, and in the winter season they will be allocated natural pasturelands. Both the Bedouins and the national economy will benefit from discontinuation of their specialization in sheep raising.

However, if the Ministry of Agriculture does not stop seizing and destroying the flocks of the Bedouins, there will be no basis for discussion of the agreed upon solution. These Bedouins who have cast their lot with the State of Israel regard the enforcement of the Black Goat Law against them as an act of discrimination intended primarily to remove them from the Negev mountains into towns prepared for them next to Be'er Sheva. In such an atmosphere, every solution found for them in the future will only constitute a political loss for the State of Israel because the anger and bitterness of the Bedouins will continue.

Moreover, a new idea is growing among these Bedouins that perhaps it would be better for them to leave the state of Israel before their staff of life is broken completely. If this tendency actually materializes, we will have to ask ourselves the question: Is it true that even minorities that go along with us cannot expect consideration and security in the Jewish state?

BRIEFS

ARAB LAND EXPROPRIATED IN GALILEE--The government has expropriated 117 dunams of land belonging to four persons in Sakhnin, an Arab village in Bet Netefah valley, in order to extend the holdings of Lotan, a lookout post near the village. The announcement of the expropriation, published in RESHUMOT, the government gazette, said the land was needed for public purposes. Government officials said the four land-owners had refused any compensation in money or land. They quoted one of them as saying he would have rejected any offer, "even if I was offered a plot in the garden of Eden." The committee of Arab local councils said Arabs in the Galilee have no objection to land being expropriated for public use—Jewish or Arab. But it does object to land being taken from Arabs and given to Jewish settlements and land-owners, it said. This is the first time in two years that land has been expropriated from Arab villages and given to a lookout post. Most of the 17,000 dunams expropriated four years ago from Arab villages in the Galilee were used for public projects, such as roads, or are being held in reserve. Fifty dunams of the land expropriated four years ago has recently been allocated to the Arab village of al-Makr in Western Galilee. The government also gave al-Makr and the neighboring (Saydah) 200,000 shekels for cultural and social projects. [Text] [TA160943 Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 16 Dec 80 p 3]

PLO-UNIFIL PACT--A secret pact was signed about 1 month ago by the commander of the UNIFIL force in southern Lebanon, General Emanuel Erskine, and the PLO leadership, according to which armed Palestinians will be given freedom of action and movement in the UNIFIL region in disregard of Security Council resolutions prohibiting the armed presence of terrorists in this region. This was disclosed by the Christian-Phalangist publication, AL-AMAL. According to the newspaper, which based its report on reliable sources, General Erskine kept the pact secret and did not report it to the UN headquarters in New York. This headquarters sent him a sharply worded letter and placed the responsibility on him for the effects of this pact, reports AL-AMAL. UNIFIL at the time permitted the entry and stay of armed PLO signal officers in its area of control besides the extra territorial status which has been given to terrorist positions in the area. At the end of May 1978 as a result of the United Nations-PLO pact, arrangements were made for the presence of terrorists who infiltrated into the area under UNIFIL supervision. UN authorities estimated the number of terrorists who stayed in the area under UNIFIL control to be 190, and today they acknowledge the presence of about 300. However, the true figure is about 600-700 terrorists. [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 1 Oct 80 p 1] 5830

EGYPTIAN MARKETING AGREEMENT--The Israeli Agricultural Exporting Company, AGREXCO, and an Egyptian company signed an agreement for economic and commercial cooperation in five fields, AGREXCO's marketing of Egyptian agricultural produce in Europe. AGREXCO's director general and the chairman of the Egyptian exporters and producers union, who has recently visited Israel, signed this agreement. The AGREXCO Company also opened a liaison office in Cairo and exported large quantities of butter and bananas to Egypt over the last 2 weeks. The two companies have also decided to co-operate on production of seeds and to exchange know-how in this field. [TA151755 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 15 Dec 80 p 8]

NEW SETTLEMENT NEAR JERUSALEM--The Israel Lands Authority is to establish a new settlement near (Nabi Samwil), north of Jerusalem. To this end, the authority will allot about 500 dunams of state domain land, or land owned by the Jewish National Fund. Our correspondent Avraham Ben-Melekh notes that the land lies outside Jerusalem's boundaries, and now an approval is being awaited from the planning committee of the Judea and Samaria command. [Text] [TA141217 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1200 GMT 14 Dec 80]

EXPANSION OF W. BANK SETTLEMENTS REPORTED--The area of several settlements in Judea and Samaria is being expanded. Our correspondent Pinhas Inbari has learned that, for instance, about 1,000 dunams near the village of Si'ir will be added to Qiryat Arba' and apparently an industrial center will be established there. Our correspondent has been told that the land was untitled [bilti-musdarot] and that proceedings were underway to declare it state-owned land. The mukhtars of the ('Arab Sha'lalde) bedouin tribe on the site have been informed of their right to appeal the decision to the military appeals committee or the high court of justice. The area in question consists of rocky, uncultivated and scattered plots of land. The area of Ari'el is also going to be expanded. It has also been learned that there are intentions to annex additional land to the Tel-Hadasha settlement in the Giv'on area. The villagers in the area have already appealed the issue to the high court of justice. [Text] [TA141121 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 14 Dec 80]

Egypt, TRADE FAIRS PARTICIPATION WITH CAIRO--Israel will participate in the International Books Fair scheduled to be held at the end of January in Cairo and in the International Trade Fair to take place in May 1981 in Cairo. This was decided last week in Cairo at the end of the meetings of the Israeli-Egyptian normalization committee. It was also decided that the land terminal for the passage of goods between Egypt and Israel--which was agreed upon a few months ago--would open tomorrow. The terminal will be located at Ne'ot Sinai. Goods will be allowed to pass between the two countries from 0800 to 1200. In order to assure the speedy transfer of the goods, a 3-day notice prior to the arrival of the Israeli cargo to the Ne'ot Sinai terminal will be required. In the meantime, reports persist about the difficulties faced by Egyptian citizens wishing to visit Israel. About 20,000 Israelis have thus far visited Egypt whereas only 1,000 Egyptians have arrived in Israel, most of them to visit relatives in the Gaza Strip and northern Sinai. [Excerpt] [TA141054 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 14 Dec 80 p 3]

NOVEMBER CONSUMER PRICE INDEX--The consumer price index rose by 9.4 percent last month, with price increases in all categories of consumer goods, particularly in food and transportation costs. The index has risen by nearly 120 percent since the

beginning of the year. The treasury said that the rise in the index again proved the dire and urgent need to cut government spending and prevent the funneling of additional money into the economy. [Excerpt] [TA141412 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 15 Dec 80]

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AT BI'R ZAYT--A political organization--the Muslim Brotherhood--has for the first time begun to operate at Bi'r Zayt University. This has been learned by our correspondent Pinhas 'Inbari. A Muslim Brotherhood list ran for election to the association of university teachers and workers in the territories. However, it was defeated by a leftist list. A group of Muslim Brotherhood activists has also begun to operate among the Bi'r Zayt students and they have been arguing with the leftists on how to conduct Palastin week. The leftists favored a moderate tactic whereas the Muslim Brotherhood members demanded a firm struggle. [Text] [TA151147 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 15 Dec 80]

KIBBUTZ MOVEMENT FAVORS GOLAN ANNEXATION--A large majority of the United Kibbutz Movement Council has decided to take action toward applying Israeli law and administration on the Golan. Our correspondent Avraham Ben-Melekh said that another resolution adopted unanimously was that the Golan is an inseparable part of the State of Israel and Israeli sovereignty over the Golan would constitute a guarantee for security and peace. The movement also pledged itself to work for continued development of the Golan together with the bodies dealing with settlement and [the Histadrut-affiliated] Hevrat 'Ovdim. These resolutions were endorsed at the end of the council meeting held at Kibbutz Nezer Sereni. [Text] [TA120609 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1500 GMT 11 Dec 80]

GRANT MADE TO WEST BANK VILLAGES--Ramallah, 15 Dec--Today the Hebron hills villages received a grant of 10 million Israeli shekels from the military government, for the development of water sources and projects in the region. The large grant was handed over by the commander of Judaea and Samaria, Brig Gen Binyamin Ben-Eli'ezer, during a tour of the area. The chairman of the Agricultural Association of the Hebron Hills Villages, Mustafa Dudin, who has served as minister of agriculture in several Jordanian governments, acknowledged the grant, saying that this sum would solve a considerable part of the problems caused by the grave shortage of water from which the area has been suffering for several years. He is convinced that the inhabitants will flourish from now on. The ITIM correspondent in Judaea and Samaria reported that the inhabitants of the Hebron hills have been complaining for a long time that the funds from the Jordanian-PLO "Stand Fast" ['Amidah Ha-Eytanah] Fund have bypassed the Hebron hills villages, which are suffering from drought, and this has caused a drop in incomes and poverty. [Text] [TA152053 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 1840 GMT 15 Dec 80]

JORDAN-SAUDI AID CONFLICT TO TERRITORIES--Jordan and Saudi Arabia are at odds over aid to the territories. Jordan is upset that a Saudi bank in Jiddah wants to extend aid to the West Bank, directly rather than through Amman. The reference is to the Islamic Bank of Saudi Arabia which has established a special fund--called the Jerusalem Fund--for the purpose of assisting Islamic projects and municipal councils that encourage religious tendencies. Jordan acceded to the establishment of the fund on the condition that the money is channeled through it. A Samaria mayor who directly appealed to the Saudi Fund was reprimanded by Jordan. The mayor said in his defense that the joint Jordanian-PLO committee was not paying him. [Text] [TA160950 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 16 Dec 80]

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD ACTIVITY--Another Muslim Brotherhood group has organized in the territories, this time in a religious university in east Jerusalem. This group is operating under the aegis of the Supreme Muslim Council. Our correspondent Pinhas 'Inbar has learned that female students have also joined this group. The women wear special traditional attires and the men grow beards. [Text] [TA160947 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 16 Dec 80]

IMMIGRATION DATA--For the first time in 10 years the number of immigrants arriving in Israel in a 1-month period dropped below 1,000 in November. A reduction in exit permits granted to Soviet Jews and extensive reportage about the high inflation and unemployment rates in Israel were believed to be the cause. [TA151755 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 15 Dec 80 p 1]

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BRIEFS

SUPPORT FOR KURDISH STATE--Beirut, 6 Dec (AFP)--Three Kurdish organizations today expressed satisfaction with Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi's announcement of support for the creation of an independent Kurdish state. The three groups were the Syrian division of the National Union of Kurdistan, the Kurdish Workers Party of Turkey and the Lebanese section of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan. In a communique, the groups also reiterated Kurdish support for "the legitimate rights of Arab peoples" and to "the progressive forces represented by the steadfastness front." It was reported yesterday that Col al-Qadhafi said the establishment of an independent Kurdish state was the only solution to the Kurdish problem. [Text] (NC061641 Paris AFP in English 1625 GMT 6 Dec 80)

CSO: 4820

BRIEFS

SHEET GLASS FACTORY--Dr 'Ali Khalaf, secretary general of the Gulf Industrial Investment Organization, said yesterday that the Gulf countries have decided to establish a sheet glass factory costing 200 million dollars. The Qatar newspaper GULF TIMES reported that 45 percent of the output of the factory, whose productive capacity is 100,000 tons annually, will be used by Saudi Arabia and that 30 percent will be used by Iraq. He said that studies are currently under way to determine the factory's location. He added that an agreement for establishing a factory to produce aluminum will be signed next month in Bahrain. It will cost 34 million Bahraini dinars (90 million dollars). [Text] [Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 17 Nov 80 p 15]

CSO: 4802

INTERIOR MINISTRY CONCLUDES SECURITY AGREEMENTS WITH TAIWAN

Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 15 Nov 80 p 19

/Article: "Saudi-Chinese Meeting Discusses Cooperation Between Both Parties in Security Areas"/

/Text/ Yesterday evening a meeting was held in Taipei between the Saudi and Chinese parties, headed by His Royal Highness Prince Ahmad ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, undersecretary of the interior, and Gen 'Aziz /sic/ Wang, Chinese director of national security.

During the meeting, which was attended by members of the delegation accompanying his highness and a number of Chinese security agency officials, a discussion was made on issues related to cooperation between the two countries in various security fields.

His Royal Highness Prince Ahmad ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the undersecretary of the interior, who is visiting Nationalist China, attended a dinner party held in his honor by Sheikh Ahmad Abu 'Ashi, charge d'affaires in the kingdom's embassy in Taipei, yesterday evening.

Attending the party were His Excellency Sun Yun-hsuan, premier of nationalist China and president of the Chinese Executive Council, a number of Chinese ministers, the commanders of the armed forces, the dean of the foreign diplomatic corps in Taipei, and a number of Chinese officials, in addition to the delegation accompanying his highness.

Prince Ahmad gave a talk at the party in which he expressed his thanks and appreciation for the great hospitality his highness and the delegation accompanying him had received from all Chinese officials during their visit to Nationalist China. His highness said, "In this visit we have learned about much concerning security which China can offer the kingdom in this area."

In his statement, the prince praised the stability and security which Nationalist China enjoys, in spite of the great threat facing it from international Communism, from Communist China in particular. He said that Nationalist China represents a true living example of progress before mankind in comparison with Communist China, which is staggering under Communist rule.

His highness talked about destructive Communism and the attempts it makes to spread its corrupt poisons among various areas of the world. He said that the Middle East region and other countries in various regions have suffered and are suffering from Communist interference in their destiny and their affairs, exposing these countries to backwardness, weakness and damage to their principles and values.

In this regard, his highness stressed "Our tolerant Islamic belief is a deterrent barrier in the face of destructive Marxist ideas in our Arab Islamic society, and this will cause these societies to be remote from Communist influence."

His highness called upon the peoples of the free and advanced world to consolidate efforts to repel international Communist aggression and save those who fall under its influence from this dominance.

His highness said, "We believe that man's mission is the good of his brother man, and one of the prime obligations of human rights is to banish the red danger whose various ways and means are characterized by bloodshed and repression."

In concluding his talk, his highness spelled out his thanks to his excellency the Chinese premier for presenting the great medal to his highness and praised the strong friendship and affection joining the two countries, which are growing and flourishing with the passage of time.

His excellency the Chinese premier also made a statement in which he praised the firm fraternal relations joining the two friendly countries and expressed his country's thanks to the kingdom for the great aid it has offered Nationalist China in various fields. He expressed his country's readiness to offer every service to the kingdom.

His excellency also asserted that His Highness Prince Ahmad's current visit to China would help develop and consolidate relations between the two countries in all areas.

In addition his Royal Highness Prince Ahmad ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz stressed yesterday that the actions of the government of His Majesty King Khalid ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, regarding the two holy shrines, on behalf of brother Moslems in every area of the world are a commitment on the part of his majesty the king, and his predecessors, always to perform this duty.

In another area, His Royal Highness Prince Ahmad ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the undersecretary for Interior, made a visit to the Protectorate General of the Taiwan Region and heard a statement by Gen Wang Jinesh, head of the protectorate, on his tasks.

After that his highness went on a visit to the Taipei Mosque, where he performed five prayers of salutation to the mosque and met with Shaykh Da'ud Chu, the head of the Islamic Society in Nationalist China, the members of the society and the imam of the mosque.

Shaykh Da'ud welcomed His Highness Prince Ahmad ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz and explained to him the society's activity of spreading Islam in China and educating the Moslem people there.

He also expressed the society's appreciation to the government and people of the kingdom for the aid they have provided the society.

He sent greetings to His Majesty King Khalid ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz and His Royal Highness Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz the crown prince and deputy prime minister for the constant support they have provided for Moslems everywhere.

The head of the Chinese Islamic Society talked about the history of Islam's advent to China and said "Islam came to China 1,000 years ago but after the Communists made the revolution they closed down all the mosques and Islamic societies, which caused Moslems to flee under the oppression of Communist tyranny and move the society to Taiwan.

He said that according to Chinese Communist government statistics the number of Moslems in China in the past was greater than 50 million but, in the latest Communist government statistics, it appeared that the number of Moslems in China does not exceed 10 million. Shaykh Da'ud added that thousands of mosques were closed down there but that the Moslems would triumph in the end and they bore great responsibility for spreading Islam.

Then His Highness Prince Ahmad ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz talked to the Islamic Society of Nationalist China, emphasizing the great responsibility laid upon them to make the eternal mission of Islam known.

He stressed that the action the government of His Majesty King Khalid ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, servant of the two holy shrines, for the Moslem brothers in China and everywhere else in the world are a commitment on the part of his majesty the king and his predecessor's to perform this duty always and eternally.

Addressing the members of the society, his highness said "I send you the greetings of your Moslem brethren in the kingdom, from the holy house and mosque of his prophet Muhammad, may God's peace and blessings be upon him, who send their greetings to you in Taiwan or in the motherland." His highness added, "Your brothers in the kingdom beseech almighty God to give you success in your mission and call on almighty God to cast light upon the oppressed under tyrannical Communist rule, and may God help his servants, love his army and abandon his enemies."

His Highness Prince Ahmad ibn 'Abd-al-Aziz stressed that no matter how unjust and vain the enemies of God may be, the end will belong to the pious, with God's permission, and he said "Almighty God, to whom be praise, has ordered us to be patient and perseverant and put our trust in him in all our acts. The devout always suffer but God's reward for this tribulation in the world and the hereafter is great."

He said, "Your insistence on the right and your perseverance will have a good effect on the glory of Islam and the Moslems in China."

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CSO: 4802

INTERIOR MINISTRY ISSUES 1978-79 STATISTICAL DIGEST

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 8 Nov 80 p 3

/Article: "Ministry of the Interior Issues Its Register for the Year 1978-79"

/Text/ His Royal Highness Prince Nayif ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the minister of the interior, presented a copy of the fifth edition of the Ministry of the Interior's Statistical Register to His Majesty King Khalid ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, His Royal Highness Prince Fahd ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the crown prince and prime minister; and His Royal Highness Prince 'Abdullah ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, the second deputy prime minister and head of the National Guard.

The register contains statistical data on the activities of the ministry and its various agencies during 1978-79.

The book, which relies on official figures and statistics, is aimed at informing citizens and residents of the efforts the ministry is making in various fields of establishing order, fighting crime (in a manner which has led to a drop in the crime rate), and highlighting the role the kingdom is fulfilling as a pioneering country in the fields of achieving security and stability and bringing the crime rate to its lowest levels.

The Statistical Register stresses that crimes which occurred in the kingdom in 1978-79 in their totality represent a reasonable percentage when compared with similar rates in all other countries, once consideration is given to the comprehensive renaissance the kingdom is going through in all spheres and the resultant entry of manpower of different groups and nationalities to deal with this renaissance.

The proportion of Saudi perpetrators of crimes was 68 percent and that of foreigners was roughly 32 percent.

The statistics also show that crimes of a serious character, such as murder and the like, do not in their totality exceed 4.6 percent of total crimes. In the area of analysis of the statistics, the book referred to the government of the kingdom's anxiety and insistence on fighting and eliminating drugs, as they are in violation of Islamic law and have a dangerous effect on the health and minds of citizens.

The book stated that in the field of traffic, the number of cars registered in the provinces of the kingdom totalled 1,723,116 and the number of license plates given

out in 1979-80 came to 290,207, 159,272 of which were private, 12,779 were for taxis, 115,679 were for transportation and 2,477 were for buses--a drop of 29,729 from last year.

The automobile driving licenses given out last year came to 241,153 and the number of automobile accidents totalled 17,743; 16,703 persons were injured and 2,843 persons died in these. The proportion of non-Saudi drivers involved in the accidents came to 37 percent of the total.

In the realm of civil defense, the number of firefighting operations throughout the kingdom totalled 3,870 as compared with 4,365 cases last year, or a drop of 495 cases, or 11.4 percent.

The fires resulted in material damages of 176,945,699 riyals, the death of 66 men and 15 women, serious injury to 67 men and 28 women and minor injuries to 189 men and 38 women. The number of deaths due to fire dropped by 45 percent from 1977-78.

Lifesaving activities of civil defense agencies in departments and centers throughout the kingdom totalled 559 as compared with 445 cases last year; these cases resulted in material damages totalling 5,086,020 riyals. They also resulted in the death of 53 men and 43 women and minor injuries to 230 men and 44 women.

The drop in fire cases and the rise in lifesaving activities may be attributed to the development of telecommunications systems, provision of these systems in civil defense vehicles, the availability of light and heavy technical equipment in civil defense agencies, the continued training of employees in modern equipment so they may be used in the most thorough manner, and the constant awareness of citizens thanks to the indoctrination programs and the activities pursued by other agencies to eliminate garbage and debris.

In the realm of passports, the number of people of Arab origin acquiring Saudi citizenship in 1978-79 came to 1,024, including 574 males and 450 women, and of persons of non-Arab origin 590, of whom 349 were men and 242 were women.

The number of Saudis who left the kingdom totalled 881,358 and those who returned to it 913,807. Of these, 258,711 citizens left by airports, 15,900 by seaports and 506,000 and 747,735 /sic/ through /land points/; 230, /missing/ citizens returned to it through airports, 16,430 citizens through seaports and 667 /sic/ citizens through land points.

The number of foreigners coming from various countries to the kingdom totalled 2,444,749 and those leaving it totalled 2,423,547. The number of people coming in by airports totalled 1,614,100, through seaports 88,927 and through land points 271,722. The number of persons leaving by airports totalled 1,578,649, by seaports 86,294, and by land points 758,604.

The number of students in the Domestic Security Forces College in the academic year 1979-80 came to 897, of whom 329 were in the preparatory year, 203 in the middle year and 265 in the final year. The number of graduates totalled 2,201, of whom 2,063 were of officer rank and 138 were of noncommissioned officer rank.

In the field of medical services, the number of men, women and children visiting Public Security health units came to 126,204. The number of doctors and administrators working in the General Department of Medical Services in Public Security came to 303, of whom 182 were Saudi and 121 were non-Saudi. There were 398 people working in the health units, distributed among the various working units.

In the field of institutes and wings belonging to the Public Security General Training Department, there is the Officers' Institute which was established in 1968, which has so far organized 19 training courses in which 507 officers enrolled; the Soldiers' Institute, which was established in 1966, which has so far organized 78 courses and graduated 4,760 persons; the Civil Defense Institute, founded in 1974, which has so far organized five courses, in which 526 students have studied; and the Traffic Institute, which was founded in 1967, and has so far organized 10 courses, in which 1,527 students have enrolled, sending 163 students to the United States for training courses. There are automobile driver training schools, the number of people admitted to which came to 103,309 students in 1979-80 and from which 62,547 graduated, as well as the Border Guard Institute founded in 1962, which has so far organized 90 courses from which a total of 3,821 people have graduated; the Passport Institute, established in 1972, which has so far organized four courses from which 300 people have graduated; the Music Wing, established in 1973, which has so far organized six courses graduating 278 people; the physical training Wing, established in 1972, which has organized six courses so far, with 330 people enrolling in them, of whom seven were non-Saudis; the Marksmanship Wing; the Machinery Wing, which was established in 1968 and has so far organized 32 courses which 1705 students have joined; the Languages Wing, which was established in 1969 and has held 11 courses so far which 122 students have enrolled in; and the Equestrian Wing which was established in 1970 and which has so far organized six courses in which 151 students have enrolled.

In the area of foreign fellowships, the number of people sent abroad to acquire scholarly degrees and take various courses totalled 407, of whom 15 were officers, 60 were uncommissioned officers, nine were employees and 317 were students. The Ministry of Interior in its plan has specified the diversification of specialized fields, to cover all various requirements.

Dr. Muzel Al 'Awaji, the undersecretary of Interior, stated that the ministry has followed the system of developing and improving all aspects of its activities in all sectors subsidiary to it. He said that attention to the manpower field has been clear and noticeable, through the inclusion of competent officers who have graduated from the Domestic Security Forces Faculty in operating security agencies, the induction of many university graduated and accredited persons, and the granting of foreign fellowships to large numbers of civilians and military persons to obtain higher scholarly credentials and train in various fields in order to be a good ministry nucleus of expertise and competence on which its expansions will be based in the future.

Dr. Al-'Awaji pointed out that to the same extent that attention has been given to the human element in developing the agencies in the ministry and raising the caliber of its activity, attention has been given to the technical aspects, since all agencies have been supplied with the most modern scientific equipment used

in the most advanced countries of the world in the service of security and in the fight against crime.

He praised the efforts of the government of his majesty the king and his crown prince in the realm of supporting the ministry's agencies and providing all necessary resources to assist them in realizing their mission, through the directives of his highness the minister of the interior and his highness the undersecretary, which have had the greatest effect in achieving these results.

11887

CSO: 4802

WRITER UNDERSCORES BENEFITS OF SOVIET TREATY TO SYRIA, ARABS

Aden 14 OCTOBER in Arabic 31 Oct 80 p 30

[Article by Ibrahim 'Abd al-Tawwab: "The Strategic Importance of the Soviet-Syrian Treaty"]

[Text] The Soviet-Syrian relationship has recently entered a new stage of development. The Friendship and Cooperation Treaty signed between the two countries early last month has endowed this relationship with a strategic and legalistic character.

It can be said that the elevation of the relationship between the two countries to this high and far-reaching level of development entails many advantages and benefits for Syria and the Arab struggle of liberation in its present phase. Perhaps the most important benefit is that the treaty constitutes a decisive practical response to al-Sadat's betrayal and capitulation and places the Camp David accords again in a new predicament, in addition to the predicament of reaching a dead-end.

On the pan-Arab level, the treaty is important in that it will tangibly put an end to the political turnabouts which seem to be developing. The early signs of such turnabouts can be seen in the implicit or open readiness of some Arab states and regimes to accept the American capitulationist formula for settling the Middle East crisis and the Arab-Zionist conflict, provided that such a formula be presented to those Arab parties in a form that is outwardly different from that of the Camp David accords. It is believed that the anticipated initiative of the Western European nations will provide just that kind of a modified formula. For some time now, this formula has been trumpeted and advertized by certain media and political circles known for their rightist orientations and Western connections which are interested in this type of modified, cosmetic settlement of the conflict in the region.

Furthermore, the Soviet-Syrian Friendship and Cooperation Treaty will spare the Arab forces of steadfastness, principally Syria and the Palestinian resistance movement, the need to depend on Arab solidarity as defined by the Baghdad and Tunis summits. That kind of solidarity has offered a supine response to the Camp David trio and the capitulationist plans it has advocated. It has also failed to respond to the exigencies of confrontation--especially the exigencies and requirements of military confrontation with the Zionist enemy which seemed determined to impede and encircle the process of political sifting which began

to take place in the Arab arena following the Egyptian ruler's visit to occupied Jerusalem and which resulted in the emergence of the Arab steadfastness front and the general Arab people's congress.

In addition to the above, the Soviet-Syrian treaty entails a great--even strategic--benefit for Syria in the following areas:

The Political Sphere

The treaty can play a major strategic role in overcoming the strategic imbalance in the Middle East, which occurred as a result of the removal of Egypt from the line of military confrontation with the Zionist enemy, as well as in striking a military balance between Syria and the Zionist entity. Such a balance is important and needed in the present juncture for fear of a war between the two sides. The outbreak of such a war is a distinct possibility, as we know. It is clear that the target of such a war would be Syria and the Palestinian resistance.

In this context, Syria has to take into consideration the possibility that the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces in the region may try to distract the steadfastness states by means of contrived side wars designed to prevent those states from providing actual military and material aid to Syria in the event of a war between Syria and the Zionist entity. Lest Syria, in a critical moment, be caught unawares by such a situation, it should seek to strike that kind of military balance with the enemy.

In fact, situations in which states of the steadfastness front are being distracted are not only possible but have actually existed for a while. Libya, for example, has been living for some time in a situation in which al-Sadat's regime has declared a state of war against it. The same can be said of Algeria. King Hassan II has said that he will chase down Polisario fighters even into Algerian territory. In that case, it is not unlikely that the regime of King Hassan II would provoke Algeria militarily. Likewise, it is not unlikely to expect Democratic Yemen to be distracted by similar stratagems, especially since it is located in a sensitive area which is of strategic and economic importance to the imperialist powers. It is noticed that the present situation in the region is complex and increasingly ridden by crises, particularly after the outbreak of the Iraq-Iran war. On the whole, the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf region is living today in a state of open war, prominently represented by the increase in the American and Western military presence, the Iraqi-Iranian war and unstable internal conditions which might distract the attention of the member states of the steadfastness front.

The Economic Sphere

Undoubtedly, the Syria-Soviet Friendship and Cooperation Treaty will guarantee Syria the opportunity to achieve speedy and coordinated economic development. Although such development will primarily depend on the internal conditions in Syria, the treaty will effectively lessen Syria's dependence on aid and loans, Arab or Western. Syria was the first to realize that such aid loans were used as a means of pressure to derail Syria from its progressive, anti-imperialist

and anti-Zionist orientations. Syria has also found out that from experience that when the aid and loans failed to achieve the political goals behind them, the donors sought two alternative courses of action: one, to threaten to cut off the aid and loans, and, two, to look for other means that may be more effective in inhibiting Syria's political line of action and its opposition to the Camp David accords. Those means were found in the Moslem Brotherhood and other bourgeois, parasitic and feudal groups that are opposed to the progressive course of Syria and fearful that this course may one day destroy their class interests. Nevertheless, the group which were incited and guided by the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary forces to kill, terrorize and sabotage the economic institutions in the country have also failed, their attempts foiled from the outset.

In our view, Syria's victory against the terrorist groups, as was pointed out by the political report submitted to the latest congress of the Syrian Communist Party, is due to the fact that these groups were clearly perceived by the Syrian people to be carrying out an imperialist-Zionist-reactionary master-plan designed to bring Syria to its knees in favor of the implementation of the Camp David accords. As a result, the masses of the Syrian people, especially the workers, peasants and other toiling and educated groups of the Syrian people, failed to support and respond to the activities of the dissident groups and their claims which are robed in a religious mantel.

At the outset of this year, Syria conducted a comprehensive and important review of all aspects of the internal situation. It coupled that with a series of political, economic and legal laws and measures aimed at enhancing the efficiency of the state's administrative apparatus and improving the people's living conditions. Labor wages were raised. The agricultural ownership ceiling was lowered by a special law--a measure which earned the satisfaction of peasants in the countryside, since it would improve their living conditions.

In the realm of domestic and foreign trade, Syria has recently adopted a number of measures which will effectively minimize the role of parasitic bourgeoisie in that realm and lower its profits. In that connection, Syria has regulated the process of the importation, distribution and sale of vital goods connected with the daily needs of the people, taking that process away from the hands and control of the parasitic bourgeoisie. The industrial economic institutions in the country have been re-evaluated and reorganized in such areas as production, daily and annual returns, production improvement and the material and health conditions of the workers in these institutions. In addition to all that, and as part of these comprehensive measures, the government earmarked financial allocations for each province in the country. The less-developed provinces received larger allocations. The aim of that move was to promote the standard of services in the country as a whole.

Since late last year and early this year, Syria witnessed an unusual political resurgence on the mass level. This was represented by the following:

- 1) The prolonged meetings held by the national progressive front under the leadership of President Hafiz al-Asad toward the end of last year. In those meetings, the overall internal situation in the country, Syria's foreign policy and the national role it must play to counter the Camp David accords were discussed at length. The 10-day meetings resulted in a political statement which was described at the time as a program of political action for the next progressive phase in Syria. The statement triggered a series of wide-scale political

discussions and panels to debate the contents of the statement. A high-level political committee headed by the former prime minister was formed to organize and follow up those debates and symposia which were marked by candor and a positive approach. The general outcome of all those debates and discussions was an affirmation of the need to strengthen the internal situation in the country in a manner that would decisively guarantee the eradication of the roots of the counterrevolutionary forces and the liquidation of their material mainstays.

2) The affirmation of the need to intensify the fight against the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces while at the same time strengthening Syria's alliance with the national Arab liberation movement and the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces and consolidating Syria's relationship with the world revolutionary forces and their vanguard--the countries of the Socialist system led by the Soviet Union.

3) The holding of the 7th regional congress of the Socialist Arab Ba'th Party early this year. The debates and results of the congress were positive and received the support of all the national and progressive forces in the country. The report submitted by the central committee of the Syrian Communist Party to the recent party congress more than 2 months ago emphasizes that, on many issues, the results of the Ba'th party congress went beyond the aforementioned statement of the national front and reaffirmed the need to solve all the issues and carry out all the goals set forth in the internal and foreign policy spheres.

4) There were conferences by a number of mass-based organizations, such as worker, peasant, women and student organizations, etc. The conferences led to positive results which were much in accord with the positive and progressive political atmosphere that has emerged in the country.

Finally, the most important decision taken by the Syrian leadership in the context of the aforementioned measures was the decision to arm the popular sectors. Such a decision will go a long way toward involving the popular masses in Syria in the task of preserving the country's progressive orientations by means of actually participating in liquidating the enclaves and positions of the counterrevolutionary forces, including the Muslim Brotherhood and all the class groups which have been harmed by the latest measures taken by the government and the prospect that those measures will spiral out to the point where they would destroy the class interests of those groups.

With this in mind, we can reiterate our previous premise that the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty signed between Syria and the Soviet Union will seriously guarantee Syria the opportunity to achieve a rapid and well-orchestrated progress in the field of economic development.

THE POLITICAL SPHERE

We have talked at length about the role and importance of the Syrian-Soviet Treaty in the economic and military spheres in Syria as well as the treaty's use as a means of bolstering the steadfastness of the forces of Arab struggle. But we have not talked yet about the role and importance of the treaty in strengthening Syria's position in the Arab homeland and in the international field and the normalized movement, and so forth. No doubt, the treaty will guarantee Syria a distinctive and effective position in the Arab and international arenas.

To rehash the statement issued by the national and regional commands of the Ba'th Party after the joint meeting they held to endorse the treaty, Syria will find in the treaty the important backing which it needs and which would help it play a major role within the nonalignment movement and the Third World's struggle for its freedom, independence and the safety of its interests. The treaty would also provide Syria with an important support in the Arab sphere. In the eyes of all the honorable men in our Arab world as well as the friends and enemies of the Arab struggle of liberation, Syria today is the first and principal line of the Arab peoples' military confrontation of the Zionist military aggression and arrogance in the region. It is therefore important that Syria should play a distinctive role and assume a strong political position in the Arab world and, to a lesser degree, in the international arena. Accordingly, all the forces of the national Arab liberation movement, primarily the steadfastness front, should diligently and intensively work to make Syria the axis of the political and military pan-Arab thrust toward liberation and victory against the alliance of the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces.

Finally, to sum up our observations about the Syrian-Soviet Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, we can say that it is of extreme strategic importance for Syria, in particular, and the Arab forces of steadfastness, in general, at this particular juncture. It is this strategic importance of the treaty for Syria and the Arab progressive forces which has evoked the spate of hostile reaction currently emanating from the political and informational circles of the imperialist, Zionist and reactionary forces.

9254

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CROWN PRINCE DELIVERS PARLIAMENT ADDRESS, DESCRIBES POLICIES

Sharjah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 4 Nov 80 p 5

/Article by Muhammad Abu 'Abduh: "Khalifah Inaugurates the Consultative Council: Emphasis on Supporting the Federation"

/Text/ Acting in the place of His Highness Sheikh Sayid ibn Sultan Aal Muhayyan, the president and ruler of Abu Dhabi, Lt Gen Sheikh Khalifah ibn Sayid, the crown prince and deputy supreme commander of the armed forces, inaugurated the second session of the fifth legislative season of the National Consultative Council yesterday morning.

Lt Gen Sheikh Khalifah stressed the need to support the federal body, firmly implant its foundations, achieve its objectives, look after it, and strengthen its progress and stability in order to provide further progress and stability for the people of the emirates.

Sheikh Khalifah emphasized that the government is continuing to implement a policy aimed at preserving and exploiting oil resources in accordance with a carefully studied plan taking into consideration the country's actual social and economic development needs. His highness stated that a massive industrial base is now being established in the al-Ruwais area containing an oil industry complex which includes the al-Ruwais refinery project and a series of other big projects, among them on shore gas, the fertiliser project, and the natural gas transmission treatment. These projects enjoy special attention to the development of domestic staffs which will be able to perform their responsibilities in this vital public sector.

Lt Gen Sheikh Khalifah expressed his hope that the gracious efforts being made for a cease fire between Iran and Iraq will be crowned by success and that these efforts at a peaceful settlement will prevent the shedding of blood and the waste of resources of the two Moslem countries.

Lt Gen Sheikh Khalifah stressed the emirates' firm position that the realization of peace in the Middle East will depend on Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, the liberation of Arab Jerusalem and the attainment of a comprehensive solution to the Palestinian people's cause of regaining their legitimate rights, returning to their country, determining their destiny and regaining their sovereignty over their soil.

Here is the text of the speech:

Brother members of the National Consultative Council:

In the name of God, with God's help, acting for his highness and /yy/father Shaykh Sayid ibn Sultan Aal Nuhayyan, the ruler of the country, we are inaugurating the second ordinary session of the fifth legislative session of your venerable council, beseeching great God almighty to make us succeed and be triumphant, for he is truly the protector.

On the occasion of the convening of this new session, we declare our pride at and appreciation for the constructive role your venerable council has played in its previous session and your sincere cooperation with the government on behalf of the good and the glory of the nation.

Brother members:

Perhaps it is good fortune that the convening of this session is occurring concurrently with the advent of the 15th Islamic century, a date which entails the greatest human mission, when great almighty God made man aware of his mercy and sent down his glorious prophet muhammad, on whom be peace and blessings. We will take this lofty occasion to present to his highness, my parent and the ruler of the country, and our honorable people the most sincere greetings, calling upon the great lord almighty to make the new Islamic century a prelude for bounty and blessings for us and the Arab and Islamic nation.

Achievements

Brother members:

During this year, through the success granted by God, the government has managed to carry out many projects and vital services for the sake of the country's development and the citizens' welfare. In the field of oil and industry, the government is continuing to carry out its policy aimed at preserving and exploiting oil resources in accordance with a carefully studied plan taking the country's actual economic and social growth needs into consideration.

In the al-Ruways area the signs of a massive developed industrial base have begun to appear, since the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company has been constructing an oil industry complex comprising the al-Ruways refinery project and another series of projects which are essentially based on the use of natural gas, headed by the on-shore gas project, the fertilizer project and the natural gas treatment and transmission project.

This enjoys special attention to the development of domestic staffs capable of performing their responsibility in this vital sector in the context of a comprehensive plan which the Oil Department is carrying out in order to Arabize positions in the oil companies.

Diversification of Revenue Sources

In order to carry out the policy of diversifying national income sources and guaranteeing the resources and welfare of coming generations, the General Industrial Organisation has managed to perform numerous industrial projects this year and is intending to carry out other projects, most prominently the iron and steel complex, the steel pipe project and the electric wire and cable plant.

In the area of public works, municipal services and water and electricity, the competent bureaus have carried out dozens of vital projects in order to keep abreast of rapid construction development in various areas of the emirate.

The government is directing special attention to the sector of agriculture, forests and forestation: our pilot experiment in this field has become an example which is emulated throughout the whole area.

Keeping up with great development in land and sea transport in the local and international contexts, completion of the final stage of the new Abu Dhabi international airport project is now underway, in preparation for its inauguration next year, in addition to development of the existing airport, and preparations for designs for the new al-'Ayn international airport have started. Efforts to develop Sayid Port to receive bigger ships are also underway.

Supporting the Federation

Brother members:

We stress before your venerable council our absolute faith in the need to support the federal body, implant its foundations, achieve its goals and objectives, and consolidate its progress and development in order to provide further progress and welfare for the people of the state of the United Arab Emirates.

We underline our zeal to consolidate relations with the states of the Gulf and the Arab and Islamic world and hope that the gracious efforts being made for a cease fire between Iraq and Iran will be crowned with success and that these efforts will lead to a sound settlement preventing the shedding of blood and wastage of the powers and resources of the two Moslem states.

We also believe in the need to keep the Gulf area removed from international struggles and keep it an area of peace.

We assert our firm position that the attainment of peace in the Middle East will depend on Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, the liberation of Arab Jerusalem and Islamic shrines and the attainment of a comprehensive settlement to the Palestinian people's cause, so that they may regain their legitimate rights, return to their country, determine their destiny and regain their national sovereignty over their soil and so that the permanent just peace to which the peoples of the region aspire may be established.

We ask all-powerful almighty God to grant us all success in what will be beneficial for this people and Arab and Islamic nation, to plant our feet firmly, to grant us his aid and assistance, and to cause our days to be days of progress, prosperity and welfare.

Lt Gen Shaykh Khalifah arrived at the site of the Consultative Council yesterday morning at 1000 hours and was met by Shaykh Sultan ibn Surur al-Kahiri, chairman of the council, and the members of the council. Lt Gen Khalifah reviewed the honor guard and the band played the national anthem.

Attending the inauguration session were Shaykh Hamdan ibn Muhammad, the deputy prime minister; Shaykh Tahnun ibn Muhammad, the ruler's representative in the Eastern Province; the chairman of the board of directors of Abu Dhabi National Oil Company; and Shaykh Ahmad ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Hubarak, chief of the Islamic Judiciary. At the beginning of the session, the agenda was read out and then Lt Gen Khalifah read out his statement.

'Abdallah ibn Ahmad al-'Utaybah, vice chairman of the Consultative Council, made the following statement:

His Highness Shaykh Khalifah ibn Zayed Aal Nahyan:

Honored highnesses and gentlemen:

Brother members:

In the name of the National Consultative Council, I give you warm blessed greetings from God and take this auspicious occasion to present to His Highness Shaykh Zayed ibn Sultan Aal Nahyan, the chief of the state and ruler of the country, and to your highness the greatest appreciation and hopes for the precious trust you have given to this council and noble attention which has been constantly given it since its establishment.

I also direct deep thanks to you and to his highness for being so gracious as to inaugurate this new session, which is a review which supervises the policy of the emirate in all areas.

We hope that this session will be replete with achievements for the good and the welfare of all citizens in our beloved nation.

We make a promise before God and before you that we will be loyal to the era and the trust, and God will grant success. Peace and God's mercy and blessings be upon you.

At the end of the statement by Mr al-'Utaybah, the session was recessed to bid farewell to His Highness Shaykh Khalifah ibn Zayed; then the council returned to the meeting to form a committee to respond to the inauguration speech and form the council's permanent committees.

The Committee To Respond to the Inauguration Speech

A committee was formed to respond to the inauguration speech, chaired by 'Abdallah Ahmad al-'Utaybah, the vice chairman of the Council, with Muhammad ibn Baruk, Hamil al-Ghayth, Jaberah ibn Hasan, Ahmad ibn Khalfan al-Murri, 'Abdallah al-Mas'ud, Muhammad al-Fandi al-Mazru'i, Yusuf ibn 'Abdallah Hussayn, Hamad ibn 'Abdallah al-Qanazi, 'Abdallah ibn Sultan al-Rumaythi and Ahmad ibn Hadr al-Nurbishi as members.

It was decided that the committee would hold its first meeting on Tuesday evening 11 November, and the branch committees of the council were formed; these retained their composition of last year, with no change.

The session was then recessed, on the proviso that the council return to convene on 17 November.

Report on the Projects Carried out

The government of Abu Dhabi set forth a statement by the Secretariat General of the National Consultative Council listing projects which had been carried out and projects which it had been decided were to be carried out in the coming period. Herewith are the most important contents of the statement:

In the Sphere of Oil and Industry

With respect to Abu Dhabi National Oil Company:

The Abu Dhabi National Oil Company, directly or through wholly- or partly-owned companies or companies subsidiary to it, continued to implement the government's oil policy in all forms and aspects in terms of exploration, drilling, development, exports, refining and distribution inside the country, and in terms of assuming the tasks of the land and sea transport of crude oil and products and natural gas to consumers in local and international markets, as follows:

The exploration and drilling operations carried out by the four operating companies ADMA, SHEDCO, ZADCO AND YUDECO, on the land and territorial waters of the emirate of Abu Dhabi, witnessed substantial, increasing activity.

On the basis of the statements by his highness the ruler of the country on the need to develop the Sath, Qarnayn and Dalma offshore fields, developing storage and export facilities on Dalma Island in order to participate in hastening their development, an agreement was concluded this year between the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company and the Japanese firm JEDCO whereby the two companies will take charge of developing these fields, and the JEDCO company will take charge of development operations by proxy for ADHOC and JEDCO.

The Abu Dhabi National Oil Company is committed to the government's policy, which is aimed at preserving and exploiting the country's petroleum resources in accordance with a thoroughly studied plan which takes into consideration the actual needs of economic and social growth in the light of the country's present comprehensive economic plan and the needs of coming generations in the future.

Greater attention will be given to the diversification of national income sources and the gradual effort to avoid relying on one source, the exportation of oil. On that basis, the government has begun planning to make use of such available raw materials as oil and natural gas, which is wasted by being burnt off. To achieve this objective, the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company has been assigned to perform the task of carrying out this policy. Previously, the company had made the necessary studies to establish a petrochemical complex in the al-Ruwais area near Jabal

Dhanna, which is considered the natural port for exporting oil from the onshore fields in the emirate of Abu Dhabi.

The fruits of that effort, as represented by the numerous installations and facilities which Abu Dhabi National Oil Company has set up in the area, considering that they are essential and necessary for carrying out any project, recently started to appear.

In order to carry out the government's policy of using associated natural gas which had previously been burnt off, the Abu Dhabi National Oil Company is now carrying out some industrial projects which will essentially use natural gas; in addition to the gas liquefaction plant constructed on Das Island, which began production in 1977, these are:

The Abu Dhabi onshore gas project, eight fertilizer projects in al-Ruways, and natural gas treatment and transmission (end-1977); it is anticipated that operation of the second line will start in 1981).

Among the projects which will use natural gas that still are under study, there is a new natural gas liquefaction project.

There are the al-Ruways refinery project, other industrial projects, the caustic soda and hydrochloric acid project and the drilling chemicals production project.

A group of industrial projects is now under planning and study; most important of these are:

The al-Ruways refinery expansion project;

The basic lubricating oil production project;

The basic (azumatic) products project;

The ether separating project.

In addition to the above, Abu Dhabi National Oil Company is developing its workforce and raising its technical level and requisite practical capability in all oil industry fields.

The Oil Department

This year the Oil Department has continued carrying out its responsibilities by supervising the exploration, drilling, development, production and export activities of all oil companies operating in the country, in order to confirm that these activities are taking place in accordance with the most modern practical and scientific methods followed in the oil industry and guarantee the production of the greatest possible amounts of oil present in the formations without damaging them. The department has given complete attention to the subject of safety and security for people and oil installations.

The department has also continued its responsibilities of supervising operations of developing and maintaining producing fields.

The department has carried out its responsibilities of supervising production operations in onshore and offshore oilfields, replacing the allowable production volume in every field, zone and well, in a manner realizing the requisite levels of production from these fields, with the objective of obtaining the greatest quantity of oil reserves and extending the fields' lives.

The department also continued its supervision of oil production and export operations in oil storage areas and through export terminals to check on the quantities produced and exported, preparatory to calculating government revenues on them.

The department continued to supervise the arabization of positions in the oil companies in accordance with the plan set out for that.

The department followed up on the general contracting firms in the oil installation area for which land had been allocated in the al-Musaffah industrial area to build the bases they require in the form of mechanical shops, machinery and equipment warehouses, and piers.

With respect to the General Industrial Organization:

The General Industrial Organization carried out the following projects in 1980:

Expansion of the al-'Arayn cement plant.

The limestone plant in al-'Ayn.

The livestock fodder plant in Abu Dhabi.

Work is still underway on construction of the following two projects:

Expansion of the Abu Dhabi National Silo and Flour Mill Organization.

The Abu Dhabi ship repair basin.

The projects the organization is determined to carry out in the future are:

The iron and steel complex.

The steel pipe project.

The electric wire project.

The vocational training center.

The 1980-85 five-year industrial projects.

Electricity Projects

The statement enumerated the projects the Water and Electricity Department carried out this year in the West Umm al-Mar plant, the al-'Ayn and outer areas project, and the electricity distribution systems.

The statement also enumerated the projects being carried out, most important of which were:

The West Umm al-Nar plant, operating tests on the remaining units; it is expected that the remaining steam turbines and desalination units will be put in operation before the end of this year.

The al-'Ayn plant, operation of an outer wall for the plant equipped with safety and security equipment and construction of a station for unloading fuel outside the plant wall.

Distribution of electricity, the Abu Dhabi airport transformer station, equipment for transmitting communications conveyed on ultra high voltage line wires, a number of overhead and underground lines, construction of 10 main series stations, construction of 80 kilometers of overhead line and underground cable, connections to 3,640 new consumers in Abu Dhabi and outlying areas and illumination of 5 kilometers of roads.

Distribution of water, expansion of the East Abu Dhabi lines, expansion of the West Abu Dhabi lines, provision of pipes, valves and other accessories, provision of water distribution equipment, expansion of section lines, expansion of main serial stations, a concrete reservoir, a pump station, water distribution in al-Musaffah, water distribution in Bani Yas, facilities, tanks, a pump station and the project to pump water to the tank.

Among the most important activities, projects and services the department intends to complete or carry out in the future are the Umm al-Nar plant, the Abu Dhabi plant, the al-'Ayn plant, the Tawilah and Musaffah plants outlying areas, electricity distribution and water distribution.

Public Works

The Works Department is carrying out a number of important construction projects in various parts of the emirate, including towns, villages and desert areas, within the framework of the comprehensive development plan the government is anxious to carry out, detailed as follows:

Roads and bridges:

In the field of land communications, the department carried out a number of road and bridge projects this year, most important of which were:

Renovation of the al-Maqta' body, protection of curves on the Umm al-Nar bridges, additional roads for the villages of al-Wajn and Mudaysis, village roads and services in other areas. The department is now building, paving and reinforcing a number of internal and outer roads, among the most important of which are:

The road to the new international airport.

Additional roads to the villages of al-Hir and Suwayhan.

The second pair of lanes for the al-Mafraq-Turayf road; the second pair of lanes for the Jabal Dhanna-Turayf road.

Expansion and consolidation with a surface layer of roads in the 'Ayn al-Fayidah area.

Expansion of the al-'Ayn-al-Mafraq road.

Traffic signs for the outer roads.

Railings for the corniche.

The department is also currently studying a number of new road projects or expansion of existing roads, in order to begin carrying them out next year. Among the most important of these are:

Construction and paving of the truck road from the al-'Ayn fertiliser plant to al-'Ayn.

The Umm al-Mar-Bu Muraykhah road.

Reconstruction, improvement and expansion of the road from the al-Maqta' bridge to the al-Mafraq intersection.

Government building projects:

This season work was completed on 39 various projects, distributed among the various parts of the emirate; most important of these were 274 ordinary dwellings in various areas of the emirate, 1,345 prefabricated popular dwellings in Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn, 30 villas in al-Mafraq, the al-Jasirah and Abu Dhabi clubs, a 50-bed clinic in Ghiyathi, and a guard unit in Abu Dhabi.

The department is now carrying out 37 various projects distributed among various areas of the emirate, among the most important of which are:

3,832 prefabricated ordinary dwellings in Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn, 560 ordinary dwellings in the western area, Dalma Island and the al-'Ayn road, 290 villas in al-Difa' and al-Mafraq, and the second stage of 50-bed clinics in Suwayhan, Bad' Zayid and Rimah.

First and second phases of the police academy, the police officers' club, the headquarters of the directorate general of police, the Abu Dhabi and al-'Ayn public library, the royal court building, a new guest palace in Abu Dhabi, the Emirates Club and the al-'Ayn Club, the Islamic judiciary building, and 18 mosques in various areas.

The department is intending in the future to carry out 13 different projects; these are in the process of being handed over, declared, designed or studied. The most important of them are:

380 ordinary dwellings in Jarn Yafur, the western area and Dalma Island; 180 villas in al-Mafraq; a Works Department building in Abu Dhabi; works offices in al-'Ayn;

the Abu Dhabi tourist tower; the headquarters of the Abu Dhabi Chamber of Commerce and Industry; the Planning Department building in Abu Dhabi; the customs building; two centers for memorizing the glorious Koran in the western area; and two mosques in Abu Dhabi.

Land and Air Communications

This year the department carried out many projects belonging to the Departments of Seaports and Airports, above and beyond the projects being carried out and those the department intends to carry out in the future. The statement enumerated these projects, most important of which were development of the existing Abu Dhabi international airport and preparations to move to the new Abu Dhabi airport. The statement reviewed the projects which have been carried out in Port Zayid and those which are expected to be completed by the end of this year. The most important of these are the construction of four container terminal piers, a pier for roll-on roll-off ships, an oil tanker pier, construction of cranes in the container terminal, construction of a harbor to receive small craft and deepening and construction activities.

A Free Zone in Abu Dhabi Port

The Works Department is intending to construct a free zone in Abu Dhabi port to store transit goods, deepen the ship channel before al-Sa'diyat Island, construct the observation tower and anti-pollution equipment, and study the possibility of covering the ship channels and the port piers with television equipment to control supervision of shipping activity in the passageways.

Accomplishments of Abu Dhabi Municipality

The statement reviewed the projects of the Municipality and Town Planning Department; the department carried out the following:

Construction of 90 villas on the airport road, construction of 24 shops in Jarn Yafur, construction of 36 shops in Bad'Zayid, construction of 10 shops in Musaffah, construction of a park in the al-Mishrif Palace in Abu Dhabi, construction of a capital park restaurant and construction of a wall around the municipal slaughterhouse.

The following road projects:

A number of inner roads in the town of Abu Dhabi, roads and parking areas for the al-Mafraq Hospital, the transmission station road in Mahawi, and palace roads and parking areas.

The following sewer projects:

Connecting the commercial buildings and residential villas in areas of the capital to the general sewer system; provision and installation of mechanical and electrical equipment for the three main discharge stations; extending the main general line and branch lines in the eastern area in the middle of Abu Dhabi Island; the general sewer system, opening stations and branch linkups to the northern section of the town of Abu Dhabi and the Tourist Club area; extension of the new lines to the new

plant in al-Mafraq; construction of three main plants to discharge sewer water to al-Mafraq; construction of major sewers and plants and construction of branch sewers in the eastern sections of Abu Dhabi; construction of main and branch sewers and opening stations in the central and northwestern area; construction of three underground water tanks in the east, at Ra's al-Akhdar and Qaer al-Bahr; construction of four underground reinforced concrete sewage water tanks with connecting sewer line system; four underground sewage water tanks along with a system of connecting pipelines; construction of main and branch sewers containing sanitary drainage channels in the central and western sections of Abu Dhabi Island; construction of 20 urgent contracting works including branch connection and expansion work in the purification plant; and general improvements in the performance of the current project and the general irrigation system. The statement reviewed the agricultural projects the Municipality of Abu Dhabi carried out and projects under construction and reviewed the planning projects for the coming period and road projects.

The statement also reviewed the projects in al-'Ayn Municipality and the department representing the ruler in the eastern area. This will be published at a later time.

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CSO: 4802

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

MASSIVE AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS IN RA'S AL-KHAYMAH REVIEWED

Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 6 Nov 80 p 5

/Article by Ibrahim Ahmad: "Ra's al-Khaymah Is Turning Into a Great Vegetable Farm"/

/Text/ The land of Ra's al-Khaymah has begun to turn into the vegetable farm of the state of the United Arab Emirates. The acreage of the vegetable farms and fruit orchards in the coming season will come to 100,000 donums, which will lie in more than 1,980 farms in the northern area.

The Ra's al-Khaymah area is distinguished by the fact that there are citizens farming whose main vocation and sole source of income is farming and whose goal is to attain self-sufficiency for the country.

In the area there are now 550 farmers specialized in farming fruit and vegetables and using the most modern farming methods. Each of them owns a farm ranging in area from 150 to 300 donums; in addition, there are 2,500 citizens who own tremendous numbers of date palms.

From the farms of Ra's al-Khaymah more than 60 trucks emanate every day bearing more than 6,000 boxes of cabbage, cauliflower, tomatoes, cucumbers, squash, zucchini, okra, (shilqum), radishes, onions, coriander, parsley, chard, gargir, pepper, beans, carrots and so on; the farmers' trucks head every day for the markets of Dubai and Sharjah with their produce.

What is the picture in the farms in Ra's al-Khaymah now?

What do farmers expect from the Ministry of Agriculture?

What are their most important problems and how can they be overcome?

Why are the farmers waiting for agricultural marketing?

How do they defray the processing of their output?

AL-ITTIHAD lived with the farmers in al-Hamraniyah, Khatt, Shiml, al-Diqdaqah, Sha'm and Idhin. It listened to their recommendations and opinions and ascertained their hopes and problems.

At the outset, the farmers and people responsible for farming in the northern area stress that the output of their farms will achieve self-sufficiency in vegetables for the whole state over a period of 6 months, and they hope that canneries and freezing and drying plants will be established for their surplus production so that optimum economic use will be made of output and a large proportion of it will not be placed in garbage cans, wasting tremendous precious resources.

The Ra's al-Khaymah area is considered the oldest farming area in the country and the one with the greatest vegetable output, as 'Abdallah Muhammad Khalfan, deputy director of agriculture in the northern section, asserts. He says, "The planting season starts on 15 July, when seedling operations begin in the nurseries, so we can start farming at the beginning of September each year, in the case of vegetables. As for fruit, the seedling and planting operations begin in April and end in November.

"Each of the area's 1,950 farms contains two or three wells, although the water in some of them has started to drop off because of the extensive pumping and paucity of rains. A start has been made in coping with this problem by constructing a dirt dam in Idhin and there are studies to construct another one in Wadi al-Bih, where rainwater will be retained behind these barriers for periods of up to 4 months, supplying the wells with water."

36 Tractors

Concerning the services which the farmers obtain, the deputy director of agriculture says "We now have 36 tractors, now that the region received 19 this week with all their equipment and 19 drivers. We are drilling wells and plowing for farmers free of charge. The construction of fences, pump repair, provision of seeds, pesticides and fertilizer are obtained by the farmers at half price. Engineers and technicians are taking charge of the operations of agricultural guidance and orienting farmers in methods of spraying insecticides and treating plant diseases in successive regular periods, under the supervision of 'Abdallah Darwish, official in the Treatment Section of the region, who asserted that the region is performing its duty insofar as resources are available to it."

What do the farmers say?

What are their complaints?

How do they aspire toward the future?

Priorities for Farmers

'Ali Hamad al-Batra, one of the farmers who have realized the best vegetable and fruit production, says that the department of agriculture drilled two wells for him and provided him with loans, /saying/ "But that does not mean that everything is as it should be. We are lacking many services now and the farmer must accustom himself to waiting until his turn comes. The matter is now subject to priorities and it is our duty to observe them."

'Ali Hamad adds, "The boxes the farmers use are unsanitary and we hope that the government will provide a box factory. Priorities are also delaying the farmers'

acquisition of necessary services. The problem of problems is the fact that the seeds, whose arrival is expected in the month of May, do not reach us until November, which is something that cannot stand delay or postponement. I recommend that the Ministry of Agriculture plan for the arrival of summer seeds on time, in the month of January, and the winter seeds at the beginning of their season in May.

"The subject which draws the attention of all the farmers, and is tantamount to a dream for them all, is agricultural marketing, and the protection of local fruit and vegetable production to guarantee that the farmers obtain the fruits of their efforts and labors. I believe that our production this season and in the coming seasons will be adequate for our requirements and will realize self-sufficiency for us."

Output is Excellent

'Ubayd 'Ali Shumayl, a farmer in al-Hamraniyah, says "Our agricultural output has attained an excellent level and in terms of quality competes with the best vegetables coming in from abroad. However, the problem is that we cannot market them in a manner which brings us a worthwhile return.

"The best crops are watermelons, cabbage and tomatoes, but without organized marketing to compensate our efforts, the farmers may turn away from farming. At first the market was on their side, but now we have begun to suffer from stagnation, spoilage of products and the loss of many of them.

"It is the government's duty to buy our production at specific prices and offer it on the markets. The excess will be directed to plants either for freezing or for drying. This is because each farmer employs 10 to 15 workers and they cost us considerable wages.

"We have been waiting for agricultural marketing for 3 years. What has been done in al-'Ayn and Abu Dhabi is a splendid example in the field of marketing." It is the farmer 'Ubayd ibn Shumayl who is talking. He adds, "There is no difference between the farmers in al-'Ayn and Ra's al-Khaymah. We pay our workers high wages and buy small boxes for 3 dirhams and large ones for 5."

The Problem of Seeds

'Ubayd raises a serious problem and that is that the (al-jahh), watermelon, seeds he obtained this year were rotten and yielded a bad crop. The farmers wasted money and effort and realized no output. In fact, the watermelons were not fit to eat.

Ahmed 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Ghani, a farmer in the Khatt area, who has been working in agriculture for 15 years and owns four farms in al-Diqdaqah, al-Hamraniyah and Khatt, /says/ that his best production this year was in tomatoes, flowers, cabbage, (shil-qu), carrots, coriander, chard, okra, onions and parsley.

Ahmed 'Abdallah says, "Marketing is our problem. Processing our surplus output is a necessity lest our vegetables which we take to the market be lost, and we sometimes are compelled to sell them at unprofitable prices or throw them in the garbage because we are at the mercy of agents and middlemen and cannot sell by the box, so consequently all our hopes are dissipated at the end of the day."

Ahmad 'Abdallah refers to the two problems of seed and loans and delays in them, and demands that credits be increased so that each farmer may obtain his due. He recommends that the government expand fertilizer manufacture, since three plants are not adequate for the growing needs; the price of a sack from the plant is 300 dirhams and reaches the farmer at 300 dirhams. He also considers that it is necessary to provide fodder to increase the quantity of livestock which can become a good revenue source for all farmers.

Insecticide Spraying Is Delayed

Misbah Majid al-Safiri, a farmer in al-Diqdaqah, says: "The water problem has started to cause us anxiety. We had been relying on wells which we had dug by hand, and after expanding the deep wells the volumes of water increased; however, the problem is that the vehicles which spray the insecticides came 2 months behind schedule, because they came in turns in accordance with the farmers' registration of their needs. The solution lies in increasing the number of vehicles and preparing technicians so that spraying can take place on time and we can obtain the best production."

Misbah says that the income of the farmers in al-'Ayn doubled after the application of agricultural marketing, which has come to represent the hope of all farmers in Ka's al-Khaymah, which could be transformed into a great state vegetable farm, attaining self-sufficiency and saving the local consumer a great deal. It is also the duty of the state to encourage farmers and increase their receptivity toward and desire to pursue agriculture, when he finds that the income is greater than expenses and that the revenues satisfy him and reward his efforts.

Palm Tree Worms

In the midst of magnificent vegetable farms stands out a real tragedy which is now facing the owners of palm trees. Worms have afflicted many of their palms, eating into them and destroying them. Spraying operations do not work and an urgent remedy is needed.

Ibrahim Muhammad al-Jabri, a farmer in al-Rams, says "The worms eat the palms, fill them with holes, kill the seedlings and make the palms die." He complained to specialists, offered samples and is still waiting, because none of the treatment operations have yet had an effect. A date palm seedling is worth 200 dirhams, farmers take care of the palms for 7 years--then the worms come and eat them in 2 months and destroy them totally.

1,980 Farms

There are many positive features in the large farms, foremost among them the services the farmers obtain. However, that does not prevent us from pointing out negative aspects.

It remains for us to say that 60 new farms will be added to those which exist now in the next 2 months. These farms are distributed among the agricultural areas which now have 1,980 farms--120 in al-Hamraniyah, 500 in Khatt, 600 in Shimal, 450 in al-Diqdaqah, 60 in Sha'm, and 250 in Idhin. We are still expecting more.

This is a rapid picture of the fruit and vegetable farms in Ra's al-Khaymah, which are now providing the markets in the emirates with all their vegetable requirements, so that they will realize self sufficiency for 6 consecutive months of the year. We can do more if agricultural processing resources are available.

11887

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CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL MEMBER DISCUSSES EVOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT

Jiddah AL-MADINAH in Arabic 17 Nov 80 p 19

Article by Yahya 'Abd-al-Raqib: "A New Consultative Council Will Soon Appear in Yemen and the Founding People's Assembly Will Be Eliminated"

Text / Shaykh 'Abdallah ibn Husayn al-Ahmar is considered a prominent figure in Yemen--an extraordinary personality who has played a great role in the contemporary history of Yemen. He is a leading personality who has played, and still is playing, a major role in this Islamic Arab country. He has granted his life to it--in fact has sacrificed much of his thinking, effort and struggle on its behalf, in order to preserve Yemen's consciousness.

There is no Yemeni, indeed Arab, who does not know his national contributions, including his chairmanship of the former consultative council and the tireless work which he pursued in getting Yemen to avoid further fragmentation and dissension. Shaykh 'Abdallah, who is now an active member of the Consultative Council, was and still is a man whose word is headed and who has penetrating vision and great capability, and a personality whose values and genuine nature receive great honor.

AL-MADINAH took the opportunity of Shaykh 'Abdallah's visit to the kingdom to hold with him this meeting which was characterized by objectivity and bluntness, and illuminated many aspects related to his country which are of concern to every Yemeni inside and outside his country.

Here is the text of the conversation:

Question / Your visit to the kingdom is occurring at a time which demands an exchange of visits among the countries in the region, in order to arrive at a united goal. Could we learn something about the nature of this visit?

What is your conception of the nature of Saudi-Yemeni relations in the past, present and future?

Answer / In fact, I came here on a personal visit with the purpose of greeting his majesty the king, his highness the crown prince and His Highness Prince Sultan. I am not performing any official or political mission on this visit.

As for Saudi-Yemeni relations, they are strong and firm and there is a great deal of talk about them.

Question? Many Yemenis are anxious to learn about the current conditions of Yemen as you see them. Is that possible?

Answer? The conditions of Yemen at the present time are all right. People who live outside Yemen imagine that there is a greater danger than those who live inside it do. The problems and disturbances we hear about in the world make us view what is happening at home as something very simple; in the current stage the Arab and Islamic world and many third world peoples are going through in the form of disturbances, especially, I can say that we are better now.

The New Cabinet Change for Normal Factors

Question? The new cabinet change has preoccupied many Yemeni people in view of the confidence and the period the previous cabinet had enjoyed. What does this change mean?

Answer? Change is a natural thing which occurs in Yemen. The previous cabinet spent more than 6 years under the premiership of our brother Mr 'Abd-al-Ghani and played its full role in every field.

The fact is that in the period he spent in the premiership was the best premier of Yemen, and left the cabinet beloved by all.

As for the change, or the factors of change, these arose from Mr 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Ghani's conviction that he should relinquish the premiership. I believe that the political factors were no greater than the natural or technical ones. The change brought in people who do not differ from the previous ones, since there has been no change in policy or even in government in my opinion.

Question? So that means that the new cabinet change was by request of Mr 'Abd-al-'Aziz himself?

Answer? Yes, as far as he personally went, he insisted on that.

Question? What things has the Founding People's Assembly realized? What about its present and future and the extent to which the Consultative Council is linked to it? Will a change of some kind be made in it?

Answer? The Founding People's Assembly is a temporary one. Its formation occurred by appointment, not election. At the same time it took the place of the Consultative Council, which was an elected parliament, and also was the popular institution which was found in Yemen at one period. There is a stipulation on this in the six principles of the 26 September Revolution. This council played its part in one of Yemen's periods, until its time ended. There then came the 13 June Movement, and this council was dissolved under the command of Lt Col Ibrahim al-Hamdi. After the murder of Ibrahim al-Hamdi and the assumption of power by Lt Col Ahmad al-Ghashmi, this council was formed under the name of the Founding People's Assembly. Its members were selected by the government and it was given some of the powers which were given to the Consultative Council in the realm of codifying laws.

In some other areas it was not given the powers the previous Consultative Council had. This is as far as the People's Assembly goes. There will soon be a free popular election to the new Consultative Council.

Question Does that mean that the Founding People's Assembly will be dissolved?

Answer Yes, and a new Consultative Assembly will take its place, because the election law has been issued, forming committees to supervise the elections, which god willing will be soon.

Question Yemeni unity is a dream which attracts every Yemeni. The two leaders of the Yemenis have talked about it abundantly. Where is it today? Is it expected that it will be realized soon? Has agreement been made on the necessary foundations for union? Will South Yemen, along with the north, renounce its principles?

Answer Unity between the two segments of Yemen, the northern and the southern, is natural; they are one people and are joined together by all the links of brotherhood, tradition and religion. There is no difference between the two people of Yemen. They are one people, and union between them on this basis is natural.

If there is a split, it is in the regimes, because in the south there exists a left-wing system embracing Marxist thinking, which is considered a serious matter alien to the region, and it is this which is perpetuating the split. When the English, who were the colonizers of Aden and the protectorates, left, the union ought to have declared then, automatically.

This is because in the past the factor for the split was the imperialist presence. Otherwise the south would have been part of the north, because the north is the mother and the south is an inseparable part of it.

The presence of British colonialism in the south is what caused the separation of this part from its great body. The Yemenis in the north and the south were fighting together to have the British leave Aden, so that the south, along with the north, could come under the writ of one flag. However, unfortunately, no sooner did British colonialism leave Aden than a government was created which declared the Marxist system, which is alien to the region, and this state perpetuated the rift, which, with the existence of this system, is greater than in the past. Now, a dialogue is underway on the basis of restoring brotherhood between Yemenis and the existence of a constitution based on Yemen's true state, heritage, beliefs, morals and concerns, so that it will be the constitution of the unity committee. The people involved have made big strides in preparing for this.

So far the rulers of the south have not relinquished anything and, in my opinion and what I and others perceive, these rulers are still perpetuating the system which the regime in the south is based on.

Question This means that the union will not be established soon?

Answer God creates what he wishes. If God, on whom be praise, changes hearts and the brothers in the south become convinced of Yemen's belief in conduct and Islamic law, then hopes will be great. By conviction I mean the brother rulers in

the south--the people are Moslem by their innate disposition and conviction and do not need a witness.

Question So does that indicate that the two parties have not agreed to the necessary bases for union so far?

Answer The sections which have been placed in the constitution are considered nearly agreed upon, and they are also derived from Islamic law.

Erroneous Conception and Biased Rumors

Question Shaykh 'Abdallah: some Arab papers recently published news of the occurrence of skirmishes between the Yemeni army and the opposition National Front. To what extent is this statement true?

Answer I told you already that people outside Yemen consider Yemen to be a disaster, and that the problems are greater than they really are. There actually are things, but they are less important than someone remote from Yemen would imagine and also less important than what the newspapers remote from Yemen indicate. This is also being spread about by the brothers in the south, as has been seen in newspapers, which have conveyed this news.

Question Thus, through your discussion, we can say that what the papers have conveyed is true but not to the extent they have stated.

Answer We cannot actually hide the fact that there is activity on the part of elements connected with the leftwing regime in Aden, with directions, reinforcement and support from them.

Question So what does this action from the south mean, at a time when the two countries are discussing union?

Answer We are all wondering as you are, and perhaps many Yemeni people in these quarters specifically are wondering.

Question We can deduce from this wondering that only the people in the two segments of Yemen, but not the others, are united. Don't you agree with me on that?

Answer Yes, the Yemeni people are the ones who have the say on union. They are a Moslem people devoted to Islamic belief and not content with an alternative. This is a fixed truth which will not admit of debate. Unity will occur only on this basis.

Question It is said that there is an Islamic front in Yemen which came into being after the birth of the National Front. What is the truth of the matter? What is the government's position on these fronts?

Answer That is true, there are elements and groups which believe in the Islamic creed who are prompted by and prompted by belief to confront the sabotage coming from the left and from communist agents. People spontaneously call those

who are confronting the Communists the Islamic group because these people possess devout Islamic thinking and the others possess apostate Marxist thinking.

The Yemeni People Are Moslem by Nature and Proud of Their Belief

Question / Some people say that giving this front that name has given birth to a new question about the Yemenis, since I hear some people making statements to the effect that the Yemeni people are Moslem by their innate nature and proud of their belief and do not need this kind of front.

Answer / Those who are committing this action have not given themselves this designation. Rather, it is the people themselves who have given it to them, since it is the people's notion that those who are confronting the Marxists and the Communist tide are an Islamic group.

Question / So what can we call this movement, for example? Is there a specific name for it?

Answer / In my opinion they are actually defending religion, honor, dignity and the nation.

Thus we can call them "holy warriors in God's path." The greatest pillar of Islam is holy war, which is a duty of every Moslem. If any Islamic country is invaded, holy war is the obligation of all.

As for the government's position on "fronts," it does not recognize them or any other party organization, because our constitution prohibits that.

Question / Why therefore doesn't the government act against these things which actually exist, as long as parties and fronts are outlawed in Yemen, as you have informed us?

Answer / They are not officially declared. They are the ones who call themselves the non-national front. They claim that and have organizations abroad which stand alongside them.

Question / Non-national--what do you mean?

Answer / I mean non-national, not national. They pretend to nationalism, as Communist countries pretend to democracy, and adopt names which are directly opposed to reality. There are Communist countries which claim to be democratic but that is the opposite of the truth.

Question / In fact we have discussed with you some Yemeni issues which concern and engross Yemeni expatriates in the kingdom. I thank you for this responsiveness.

Answer / I exchange thanks with all and would like to tell the Yemenis in the kingdom that they are actually living in Yemen, because there is no barrier separating Yemen from the kingdom.

Our customs, traditions and genuineness are common and arise from one source. The distance between us is growing small. When a Yemeni moves into Saudi Arabia or goes back to Yemen, it is as if he is moving from one place to another within his nation.

The Iraqi-Iranian War Is a Loss for All

Question / The Iraqi-Iranian war has gone on almost 2 months. What is Yemen's position on it? Could you give the reader your conceptions of its implications for the region?

Answer / Yemen's position on this war is one of compassion for all.

This war is truly grave. Its implications for the region, the Arab cause and the Islamic world are also grave. Those who are benefiting from this war are the Eastern and Western camps. The greatest beneficiary is Israel, the enemy of all, because this war is wasting the strength of two Islamic powers. It would have been more worthy had the powers directed it to liberating holy Jerusalem, liberating the usurped Arab territories, and working to strengthen the Islamic nation against the obscurity which envelops it. The war between Iraq and Iran is a war that neither of these two countries benefit from; they are both the losers.

Question / So Yemen's position on it is one of neutrality?

Answer / Yemen's position on it is that of a third brother distressed for all and compassionate for all.

Question / Perhaps you have read that Kuwait is exposed to rocket bombardment. What is your concept of the implications of this action? How can the region avoid further crises?

Answer / I read that the area where the two rockets fell is near the Iraqi-Iranian borders and near areas exposed to attack by both sides. We can say that what happened was perhaps a mistake and not deliberate.

Almighty God, to whom be grace, says "Be pious, lest dissension afflict those of you who have been treated unjustly." In particular, war must be avoided.

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RAPID GROWTH OF ECONOMY, MILITARY UNDERLINED

London AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 18 Oct 80 pp 34, 35

/Article by As'ad Haydar: "Arabia Felix on the Threshold--of the Age"/

/Text/ North Yemen's celebrations of the 18th anniversary of the 26 September revolution did not deter its leaders from following up on the war on the Iraqi-Iranian borders. At the apex of the celebrations, after representatives of President Saddam Husayn had arrived to participate in the celebrations in San'a', a telephone conversation took place between Presidents Saddam Husayn and 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih in which the Yemeni president stressed to the Iraqi president his country's readiness to offer the Iraqi forces, especially the air force, all necessary facilities.

However, the preoccupations of the Iraqi-Iranian war did not prevent large numbers of delegations from being invited from Arab and friendly countries to participate in the celebrations the likes of which San'a' had not witnessed since the beginning of the revolution. These invitations were just a North Yemeni attempt to show the degree of stability Yemen enjoys on the one hand and the volume of arms the Yemeni army enjoys in the era of Col Salih on the other.

In the latter context, that is, arms, it was clear, from the weapons which appeared on display, how recently they had reached San'a', whether they were tanks' artillery pieces or even certain types of planes which circled in the air over the display. In addition, the diversity of their sources was also clear--by Yemeni official desire, as a senior officer told AL-MUSTAQBAL. Alongside the Soviet arms, which were most conspicuous in the armored forces, there were American arms and French arms--light armored vehicles of the Panhard type. In the context of the air force, Soviet MiG aircraft made a display, followed by American airplanes of the F-5 type. It was strange, during the review, to observe American Soviet and French military delegations sitting side by side while following the display. The American military delegation became interested when the airplanes appeared, and its head went down from the guests' podium and sat on the ground to observe the fighters flying, recording at the same time his observations on the types of maneuver of the planes and the pilots' skill in carrying them out. The surprise of the military review was its conclusion, when over the show podium flew a Sukhoi-22 aircraft; that was the newest Soviet weapon the Yemeni army had received. In responding on the reason for the diversification of arms sources, and whether Soviet arms in this quantity would not provoke their neighbors in the Gulf states, the Yemenis

insist, "Whatever their source and type, the arms in the hands of the Yemenis become Yemeni, serving Yemeni interests and goals, so there is no reason to fear."

In the course of answering that very question, Dr Hasan Makki, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, said "Prince Sultan has underlined his agreement to diversify arms sources for his country, so why can't we ourselves exercise this freedom?"

Some military experts who observed the military display in the capital, San'a', or in the other Yemeni towns estimate that the numbers in the Yemeni army have become several times greater than in the past, when it had about 12,000 troops, and that there is no room for comparing the modern current Yemeni army, especially in recent years, with the old Yemeni army, from the standpoint of size of equipment and diversity of equipment.

In the domestic context, there is no doubt that Yemen is experiencing considerable economic growth. This growth has clear features in all vital installations, especially in the construction field. Through the projects which have been inaugurated or whose cornerstone was laid in the country during the revolutionary celebrations, the size of the leap which the Yemeni government is trying to make to get out of the shackles of backwardness in which it was fettered throughout the decades of imamate rule is apparent. An American report which has lately been distributed asserts that the growth rate in Yemen exceeded 8 percent in 1979. It is important to point to the concentration on the educational sector in the country; the budget allotted for school construction comes to more than 1 billion Yemeni riyals, that is, more than \$200 million. This expansion is also the result of the inhabitants' receptivity to education, and one of the most prominent manifestations of this is the fact that people urge their daughters to go to schools and universities. However, this leap has not been without a price. Inflation is obvious and can be noted even in the smallest daily requirements of Yemenis. As evidence of that, a Yemeni merchant told me, when I stated that the price of the object I wanted to buy had doubled in the last year, "If you come tomorrow you may find that the price has doubled again. There are no stable prices nowadays." With respect to the construction and public services sector, the high prices there are paralleled in only a few countries of the world. In the city of Jiddah, which has become a suburb of San'a', the rent for a single apartment in the modern buildings currently being constructed comes to about 35,000 riyals a month, or about \$8,000. Although there is repeated talk about the "qat" problem, the fact that it has become an economic issue draining the national economy has become a local issue. The report points out that the Yemenis spend \$16.5 million a day, or the equivalent of \$6 billion a year, on it.

In a political attempt to develop the climate of stability in Yemen, the Yemeni leaders, as Yahya al-'Arshi, the minister of information asserted to AL-MUSTAQBAL, are trying to effect a domestic reconciliation by preparing for legislative council elections early next year, as well as effecting approval of the national charter, which is still "in draft," currently being studied in a competent committee made up of 100 members representing the various political currents in the country. If this committee is able to complete the draft of the national charter by the stipulated time, transcending its internal disputes and the differences in its political currents, Yemen will have taken a great step toward stability. A well informed Yemeni official says "The unity agreements with the southern segment of the country

and mutual cooperation between the Yemeni leaders in San'a' and Aden will facilitate this success. The national front is compelled to cooperate, even if we assume it does not want to do so, now that those who have returned from Aden to San'a' have returned."

Regarding unity between the two segments, President 'Ali Nasir Muhammad's participation in the revolutionary celebrations in the northern segment the morning of the military display possesses considerable significance. The steps toward unification are brisk these days, but are quiet and carefully thought out. As the minister of information, Yahya al-'Arashi, asserts along this line, the North Yemeni effort to achieve a kind of economic integration in vital areas, such as the establishment of joint organizations in the context of tourism, land transport and fishing is continuing. Telephone communications between San'a' and Aden have become domestic in kind and although officials in San'a' insist on negating the importance of "the will of individuals in the unity process," and state that no change in the political leadership in Aden will be made at the expense of unity, these officials are closely following the silent struggle going on in Aden between the two currents in the Socialist Party, in addition to the leadership struggle represented by 'Ali Nasir Muhammad and 'Ali 'Antar, the minister of defense. These officials are afraid that the activity of 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il's current, which puts heavy emphasis on the issue of unity, will become prominent again in Aden, especially now that Salih Muti', foreign minister of foreign affairs, who is known for his opposition to 'Abd-al-Fattah Isma'il, has been stripped of all his party positions. The Yemenis in San'a' say that 'Ali Nasir Muhammad's tenure in the presidency constitutes a kind of guarantee, especially since he does not seem to put heavy emphasis on the rapid attainment of unity at any price, and that the outlines of the political struggle going on in Aden will become apparent in the next 3 months and the first fruits of that will be in the exceptional party conference in the first half of this month. If 'Ali Nasir Muhammad preserves his three positions in the course of the conference, that will mean that he has succeeded in "braking" 'Ali 'Antar.

The struggle in Aden is not the only one over union. In San'a' there are currents which are opposed to, or at least suspicious about, union. One officer who occupies a high position, though not in the leadership (director of military protocol in the army), told me "Unity is a difficult thing. It is adequate for us to coordinate. No official can make concessions to the other party." Here is the gravity of the matter: if the current in San'a' which is suspicious about unity, out of its regional interests, prevailed, that would lead to a total change in the situation in Aden in favor of persons insisting on unity at any price and by any means, even military ones.

The perils that the union might falter are not the only ones in San'a'. For some time North Yemen has been observing a powerful struggle between the National Front and what is called the Islamic Front. This struggle has recently turned into an armed struggle, especially in the Province of Sa'dah. The minister of education, Muhammad Khadim al-Wajih, is considered the most prominent personality in the Islamic Front. The leadership is afraid that the scope of this struggle will broaden and that foreign threads will become interwoven into it, especially following the front's latest statement, which spoke about the role of the Moslem Brothers in the course of the struggle now going on in various parts of the Arab nation.

North Yemen, as in all stages of the past, is now suffering from reciprocal Arab pressures. Every Arab body or axis is trying to attract it, by enticement or terror. The most recent type of pressure San'a' witnessed was the demand by Arab bodies that the two ministers Hasan Makki and Yahya al-'Arnashi be dismissed from the cabinet, on the excuse of carrying out a general modification in the cabinet by virtue of which Muhammad al-Junayd, minister of finance, would be expelled; one should bear in mind that there is no common denominator between the two parties. The two ministers Makki and al-'Arashi were slated for expulsion from the ministry for political reasons, among them their political "extremism" in positions on all foreign levels, especially as regards their relations with their Gulf neighbors. However, Maj 'Ali al-Shatir, director of moral guidance in the army, who is close to President Salih, asserted to me: "No political change can be made in Yemen as a result of foreign will. If a change occurs it will not be within the next 2 months, as some people anticipate, and if it occurs it will be for domestic reasons only." In San'a' it is bruited about that 'Abd-al-Ghani, the prime minister, is slated to leave his position in the event any change occurs and that Muhsin al-'Ayni is slated to succeed him.

In the natural setting in San'a' one can observe the extent of the pressures exerted from abroad, or the way the Yemeni officials pay attention to their neighbors on all sensitive matters, every day.

From time to time, these pressures are translated into sudden occurrences which turn calm and stability into chaos and anxiety, as happened last Ramadan, when that month turned into long days of extreme tension and constant anxiety. However, the wisdom of the political leadership made it possible to pass peacefully through the days of Ramadan, including the night of the "holiday pause," one of the most prominent repercussions of which was Shaykh 'Abdallah al-Ahmar's failure to sit down in the front row with President 'Ali 'Abdalilah al-Salih during the military parade and later at such other revolutionary celebrations as the inaugurations of projects and so forth.

An Arab diplomat who has kept abreast of events in North Yemen and is informed about its domestic and foreign tribulations told AL-MUSTAQBAL "We cannot deal with North Yemen the way we would deal with any other Arab state. It has seen the light only a few years ago and still, perhaps for decades to come, is the prisoner of the complexes of its tribal human structure. Therefore it would be best for us to concentrate on the bright points in Yemen without neglecting the negative ones which are present throughout the length and breadth of the country. Yemen is trying to transcend its condition and establish some democratic elements within itself. It may succeed in this course or it may fail, as a result of well known foreign circumstances and pressures. But its experience deserves more attention from the Arabs."

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